

SPACE AND VIOLENCE

ARCHITECTURE IN MODERN ARMED CONFLICTS

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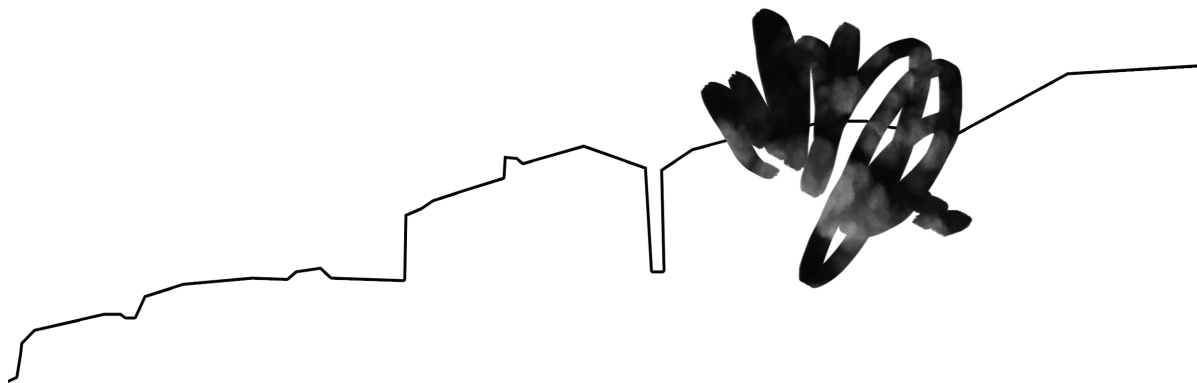
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Figure 1 Sergey Prokopief International Airport of Donetsk, June 2014.
Photo: Dmitry Lovetsky



Preface

Four years ago, I saw my city turning into a state of conflict. It was second revolution in 26 years of Ukrainian independence. Central part of the city has turned into a battlefield for three most intensive days in February, as an apotheosis of almost 3 months of protests. Workers club, iconic building on the main square was on fire. Numerous barricades appeared; paving was gone, used for fighting and defence construction; shops and bars closed or adapted for emergency needs; surfaces covered with sticky black smoke from burning tires. Public transport was not operating around city centre, it became isolated. Although, the rest of the city lived almost a normal life.

Familiar environment has changed, adapting to violent events. As I continued living in Kyiv after battle was finished, I had a chance to observe the process of forming collective memory around these events, as well as memorialization process with numerous attempts varying in scale and created narrative. Revolution legends were spreading every day; sacred spaces with DIY memorials appeared simultaneously. After four years from this event, memorial museum is about to be built, as a result of international architectural competition.

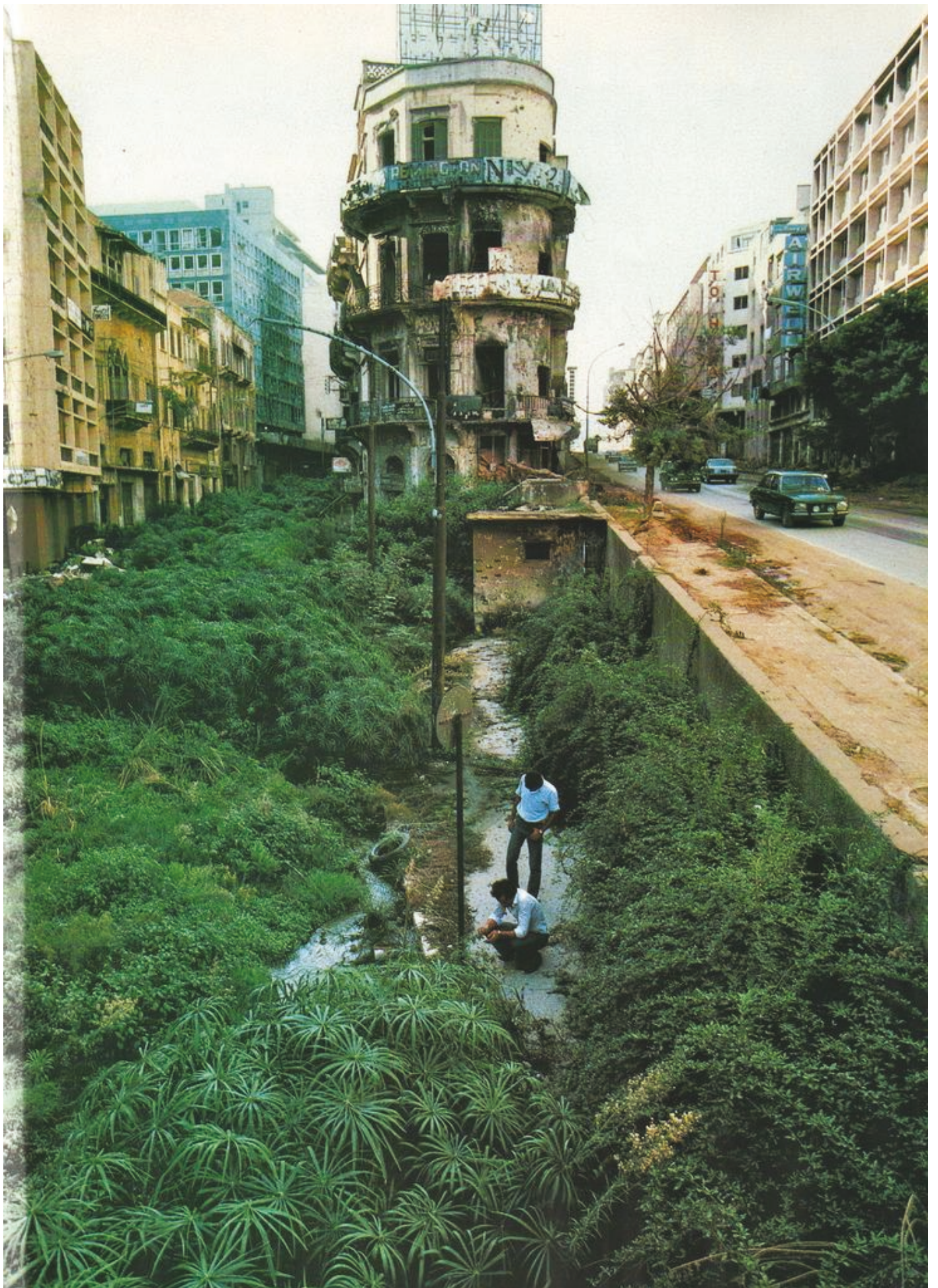
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January 21st 2015 has become the last day of Sergei Prokofiev International Airport in Donetsk, Eastern Ukraine. After 242 days of siege, it's floors finally collapsed, burying many of its defenders underneath. Being a strategical spot in the beginning, it soon became much more an ideological victory

goal than a practical use. Artillery fire, bombs and gunfights destroyed the whole complex, from flight roots and planes to all the buildings, leaving ruins from the airport, which has been renovated just 2 years before. From a certain point, siege was going on inside the terminal building, with fighting troops located on different floors. Fights have had vertical character; building ruin became a battlefield. After almost a year, when all the levels of both terminals fell down, Airport was finally proclaimed to be not a key goal anymore, Ukrainian soldiers left. Event is now remembered as the greatest heroic battle of this war, symbol of Ukrainian resilience; its defenders are called "cyborgs" for their persistence.

//

For my first MA thesis in Architecture at university in Kyiv, I was doing research on memorial architecture. It was a project of Memorial museum, following the research on memorialization methods. Throughout the following years, however, I have changed my opinion about memorialization. What was clear back then seem not to be convincing anymore. As a participant of tragic events I now realized that collective trauma can't be healed with classic museumification, neither with denying and forgetting. I realized that work with destruction, separation and memory in conflict cities, is much more delicate and complicated matter. That is why I decided to research on a violence and conflict spatial nature to understand it more and be able to reflect on it and work with as an architect, and be able to achieve wide multidisciplinary approach.



Introduction

Throughout long history of humanity, every civilization was facing a war: countries were divided, new ones formed; cities destroyed and rebuilt again, or vanished forever. Seeking innovations for military needs, many inventions, including building technologies, were made. In general, most of cities can be easily seen as a vicious circle of construction and destruction, revealing the last one as a bitter price of progress. In the 21st century, we still live in times of armed conflicts eventually happening around the globe. Even more, it seems to be taken for granted.

Moreover, in the latest decades we are facing a new tendency in organized violence. Mass destruction in Sarajevo had become a frame for new term to appear. *"In an exhibition produced in 1993, the city's Association of Architects created an unprecedented neologism to describe the city's wartime ruin: 'warchitecture' or war carried out through and as the destruction of architecture."*¹ Pointed siege on buildings usually happening far from frontlines and is not licensed by military necessity. It is rather turning against enemy's cultural identity, history and memory, breaking continuity.

In conflict-shaped cities, change of space is a significant factor. Violence creates borders, voids, changing shapes and re-functions spaces. Re-building, re-uniting and bringing back to peaceful life is a great challenge. Despite the obvious importance, there is not much reflection on conflict happening in an architectural discourse; even though, it is the architect, who stands behind these new siege goals

– built heritage. According to Ole Bouman, possible reason for such passivity of architectural engagement can be that architecture is usually associated with construction, with a will for better, the positive². In most cases, architects' role is to create replacing utopia, "better future", as all the nightmare or war is to be erased as soon as possible. "Architecture simply has a hard time addressing despair"³.

Another reason may lie in ethics. American architect Lebbeus Woods once said, being blamed for "aestheticizing violence": "No architect would wish for the violent destruction of human communities just to enhance his or her career, just as no doctor would wish for the creation of cancer just to win a Nobel Prize. But once cancer exists, its destructive effects have to be treated, and—by anticipating them—its cause eliminated or 'cured.' The task of the few architects who dare to engage in their work destructive forces and their effects in our time must not only struggle with them but also with the stigma of doing so."⁴

War or at least its projection had become part of our life. New types of violence appeared after WW2, wars are also changing their character. During the past as well as present conflicts, architecture was a tool for propaganda and violence itself, so distancing from it will be a hypocrisy and may work only one way. On the contrary, destruction itself makes a way to improvisation, such as unplanned interventions and adaptation.

1

Andrew Herscher, *Warchitectural Theory* (Journal of Architecture Education, 61, no. 3, 2008), 37.

2

Ole Bouman, *The architecture of destruction*, (Volume#11: Cities Unbuilt, 2007), 4–5

3

Ole Bouman, *The architecture of destruction*, 4

4

Lebbeus Woods, *AESTHETICIZING VIOLENCE*, 2010, (<https://lebbeuswoods.wordpress.com/2010/01/15/aestheticizing-violence/>).

◀ Figure 2

LEBANON. Beirut. Tall grass grows on the Green Line separating East from West Beirut where the two factions fought the civil war. 1982. Photo: A. Abbas.

Figure 3 ►

A 1990s Martyrs' Square street vendor selling posters of the same place in the late sixties. Photo: Patrick Baz

As contemporary war become urbanized and weapons efficiency in destruction is growing every year, architecture becomes a main target in siege for cultural identity and ethnic domination. International Law about War destruction was not signed by few most influential countries, so no surprise there is still not much intention to follow military ethics of protecting built heritage and avoiding unnecessary destruction. Thus, architect as an intellectual, thinker, spatial specialist and, foremost, creator of the main war target, can and should, in my opinion, contribute to analysing, interpreting and fighting violent war destruction. Only deep understanding of war destruction can help solving architectural (as well as many others) challenges that it is constantly creating.

Being unable to avoid reflecting on wars and conflicts of past and present, amount of effort spent of defence as well as new weapons development, political games around nuclear weapon and my own experience living in a country in an undeclared-war, I make an attend to explore war in an architectural perspective.

The aim of this research is to investigate concepts of destruction, abandonment, separation, memorialization and temporality of contemporary cities safety; develop understanding about violence-shaped spaces, their meaning and perception; and collective memory.

Historic period of this work is post WW2, Cold war and mainly modern conflicts of late 20th – early 21st century. Research is focusing more on spatial features of armed conflict, it's influence on society through spatial changes, much less on the chronological order or a specific cite.

The core is conditionally divided into 3 chapters, representing main spatial phenomena caused by violent events: destruction, separation and memory. Chapters also represent different stages of conflict, from the active phase of conflict to its memorialization. The research question is how space in all of this

phases is influenced by violence and where is architecture's place in this process. I use stories of cities under siege as case studies. By analysing events time lines, photos, maps, memories and documents, I am looking for understanding of the conflict nature, influence and possible ways to reflect on it in architectural or/and artistic way. There are two scales in research: city and building; and the time frame is from post-WW2 till current times. In each chapter, different disciplines will be involved in spatial phenomena analysis. Sociological perspective on destruction, international law about protection and restoration, as well as artistic interpretations for memory.

This thesis is based on theoretical and interpretive research, as well as collecting stories, facts and architectural, artistic and other projects to compare analyse and find tendencies. By following storyline that goes through the book, passing 3 chapters as main phases of armed conflict, I compare collected data, analyse tendencies and facts, as well as theoretic works dedicated to each topic.

"Architecture is about the lack of stability and how to address it. Architecture is about the void and how to cross it. Architecture is about inhospitability and how to live within it."

GEOFF MANAUGH



CHAPTER 1

DESTRUCTION





40 - Beyrouth - Hotel Normandy

WARCHITECTURE

During all humans' history, architecture was often a victim of armed conflict. Sometimes it was vanished as a consequence of military goals, but in many cases, it was a goal itself. Taking Persian city Persepolis, Alexander destroyed it to diminish enemy's civilization. It happened with many great ancient cities. Although it is often difficult to figure out the reason for destruction, there are plenty of cases, that speak volumes about conscious targeting on architecture. Cultural warfare is hard to understand, as Dan Cruickshank said "It is an entirely negative activity, to do with the destruction or removal of things - memory, buildings, identity; it seeks a state of desolation, a vacuum, an absence."⁵

For the city of conflict, destruction becomes part of everyday life, shaping surrounding environment in cruel deadly way. Voids, that appear after siege, beside the incomparable human loss, are also rising new challenges for the city and its community. In the following chapter, I will analyse different aspects of violent destruction influence on cities under siege. Mass war destruction of old cities, rich of cultural heritage in end 20th -beginning of 21st century is terrifying. Often being away from combat front lines and military-specific objects like weapon plans, cities suffer from violence that cannot just be reasoned for military purposes. Moreover, with the technical progress, targeting becomes more and more calculated process, there are much less blind accidental shoots. In modern urban wars, destruction is bringing siege into the streets, city and its building become battlefield. Being carefully planned, war destruction becomes a way of un-building, anti-architecture⁶.

During the last 20 years, along post-Soviet Union conflicts in Eastern Europe as well as conflicts in the Middle East and Africa, war destruction of architecture and its political meaning have started to be discussed and theorized. As Andrew Herscher pointed out in his book "Warchitectural Theory", a term "new-war" appeared as a result, reflecting above mentioned conflicts. It describes "political violence between non- or para-state actors in which activities

proscribed by the rules of war, like the systematic destruction of civilian architecture, are commonplace." These discussions are also often focusing on definitions or "war", "violence" and "architecture", and their inter-relations. For instance, understanding and interpretations of two, seemingly opposite things "architecture" (as construction) and "destruction" (as deconstruction) are non-comparable.⁷

As architecture being perceived as a complex layered construct, however destruction has rarely been investigated and perceived on the same level as its opposite. Destruction is usually counted in numbers, type of destructed buildings and aim of such targeting. Somehow, destructed architecture is losing its architectural qualities, turns into wartime statistics that have nothing to do with actual spatial changes. "Destruction usually displaces architecture from architectural discourse, if not the domain of culture more generally, and positions it in the domain of violence."⁸

The reason for that may lay in classic connection of architecture, as construction to culture, or "civilization". In contrary, destruction is resulting from violence, which is fighting against architecture. In this logic, there is imaginative "normal" condition for architecture, where there is no violence, which results in almost complete exclusion of destruction from architectural discourse. I agree with Herscher here, that this concept of putting violence outside a culture is not reflecting on civilizations history, where culture and violence, e.g. wars, are always existing side by side.⁹ Even more, products of "culture" were sometimes serving power and violence, being an instrument of control and manipulation.

Concept of this contrast is questioned by targeted destruction, which pictures the complexity of war destruction. Is war destruction so opposite to "culture" when it has a strategy and well-planned mapping and targeting?

"There never were any mosques in Zvornik."

- BRANKO GRUJIC, SERBIAN MAYOR OF ZVORNIK
(AFTER ITS MUSLIM POPULATION HAD BEEN EXPELLED
AND ITS MOSQUES DESTROYED)¹⁰

In 1993, exhibition, entitled "Warchitecture" was organised by Association of Architects in Sarajevo. In dedication to catastrophic damage caused by bombing by Bosnian Serb army, term was created to emphasize anti-architectural nature of these attacks. On the city map they put every building destroyed by shelling, classified by character of damage: roof damage, complete burning, partial burning or complete destruction. These data created new city map, new landscape of it.¹¹

Warchitecture was defined as a systematic intention, planned and well organized part of the warfare. Term also frames the shift in modern conflicts tendencies

5

Dan Cruickshank, The Destruction of Memory, by Robert Bevan (The Independent, 2006)

6

Ole Bouman, The architecture of destruction, 4-5

7, 8, 9

Herscher. Warchitectural Theory, 35-42.

10

Robert Bevan, The Destruction of Memory. Architecture at war. (Reaktion Books, 2016), 17.

11

Herscher. Warchitectural Theory, 35-42.

12

Andrew Herscher, Warchitecture/ Post-Warchitecture, (Volume#11: Cities Unbuilt, 2007), 68.

▲ Figure 4 (Chapter cover photo)

Serbian Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Djakovica.

◀ Figure 5

Collage made by author based on the postcard from pre-war Beirut.

13

Herscher. Warchi-
tecture Theory, 40.

14

Herscher. Warchitec-
tural Theory, 39-42.

15

Herscher. Warchitec-
tural Theory, 41-42.

16

Herscher, Warchi-
tecture/Post-Warchi-
tecture, 68.

17

Herscher. Warchi-
tecture Theory, 41.

18

Herscher. Warchitec-
tural Theory, 40-42.

Figure 6 ►

‘Sarajevo,’ postcard,
1997. Collection of
Andrew Herscher.

Figure 7 ►►

“Warchitecture:
Urbicide Sarajevo,”
cover of exhibition
catalogue.

Figure 8 ►►►

Map of destruc-
tion in Sarajevo’s
Bazaar.

– urbanized violence. Streets and buildings of cities become battlefields: “...war becomes a form of un-building and thus enmeshed in the spaces, ambitions and processes that architecture is typically thought to manage.”

Thus, talking about term “warchitecture” as a concept of intended planned destruction, shaped by identities, we are facing contradicting approaches for its investigation. “... whether rationalized or irrationalized, destruction is nevertheless denied the autonomy that critical interpretation would grant any cultural phenomenon. Reduced to an irrational irruption, destruction is presumed to be unreadable; reduced to a rational instrument, destruction is presumed to be already read.”¹³.

Analysing Palestine destruction, Daniel Monk proposes another interpretation: position of architecture in planned destruction as an immediate visualization of politics. In this way, we can talk about no sharp distinction between construction and destruction in warchitecture concept; putting destruction itself to an architectural discourse.¹⁴ This vision also corresponds on many contemporary studies on violence, arguing it’s connection to culture. Therefore, warchi-

**“The bridge in all its beauty
and grace was built to out-
live us; it was an attempt to
grasp eternity. It transcends
our individual destiny. A
dead woman is one of us –
but the bridge is all of us
forever.”**

- TIM SLADE, “THE DESTRUCTION OF MEMORY,”

ture defines intended violence against architecture as a process, that shapes identity of environment upon reasons of its initiators.

Talking about subjects of warchitecture, Herscher points out that, in warchitecture concept of destruction-as-architecture, destruction is creating subjects in the process of producing new objects¹⁵. When analysing cases of targeted violence towards architecture, it is easy to notice, that subjects of it are usually the ones that have cultural importance for opposing party. Moreover, such violence is also often portrayed to be a message of a certain group, so we can also talk about its representative and delegate qualities. However, such delegation often has nothing to do with community’s agreed decisions, but with someone, who decided to represent it by targeted destruction. Also, targeted objects are usually identified as culturally-important for both sides, known and have their solid place in victim’s identification. Destruction, in this way, becomes a form of communication between opposing sides. It is especially visible in Sarajevo, with its vandalising graffiti. For example, Serbian graffiti which is re-naming

vandalized mosque into The Church of St. Mark in Belgrade, which was built based on model of Kosovo Serbian Orthodox Church. In ironic way, the circle of ethical connections had closed on a ruined provincial church.

On the other hand it is also possible, that not only delegation creates certain unity around attacking “the other” with representing community, but also being attacked by such violence can unify. In his article “Warchitecture/Post-Warchitecture”, Herscher pointed out that the conflict in Kosovo pictures certain contextualization. Neither one of ethnic groups has monopoly of violence towards the other’s group heritage. Seems like concepts of ethnicity are not standing before or outside the violence in name of ethnic group. “In other words, “ethnic violence”, of which violence against architecture forms a prime example, is not the product of a static and homogeneous ethnic community, but a performance of ethnicity, a performance that gives cultural meaning and social value to ethnic identity¹⁶.”

As an example on can remember post-war archives of Yugoslavia conflict. In Kosovo, targets of destruction are usually called “heritage”, however, closer investigation opens up the interesting fact, that there were also buildings made just before the conflict put into these “destruction catalogues”. So one can make a guess, cultural importance of such buildings became stronger after they were purposely abandoned by enemy. This phenomena is giving a thought about architecture not only being shaped by violence but also changing it’s meaning and value.¹⁷

Another aspect, worth mentioning, is that transforming quality of warchitecture does not happen without experience of destruction by its victims. As it was said before, physical environment that architecture provides is being perceived as “stable” long-lasting frame for our memories created in it. Thus, destruction of this environment causes disorientation, feeling loss of connection to place, destruction of belonging to it. As built environment is reduced to ruins, we feel loss of permanence of it. When community is facing this danger of losing its identity, stability of environment and continuity of collective memory though architecture targeted for violent destruction, no surprise it reacts in unification around ethnicity, social group or nation and reduce of individual’s importance. In this way, creating or strengthening of communities under siege is one aftermaths of warchitecture.

Warchitecture is also giving seemingly obvious conclusion about war-legitimized destruction: despite any reasons behind, any military necessity or potential treat in targeted spot, which, when it has to be explained by government, is usually, called in abstract way “a target”; it is always an architecture¹⁸.



Sarajevo

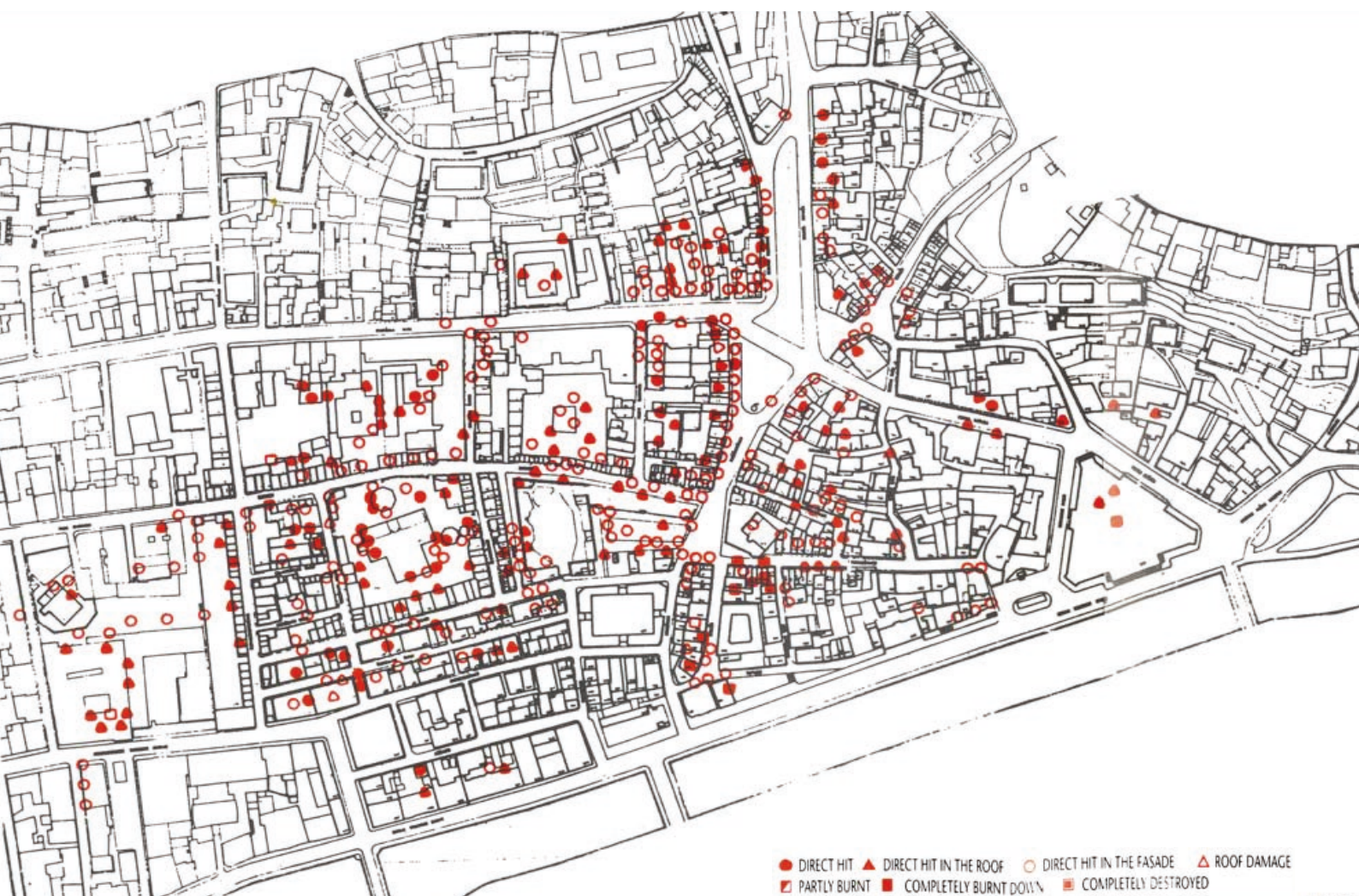


WARCHITECTURE

URBICIDE
SARAJEVO

Dossier

ASSOCIATION OF ARCHITECTS DAS-SABIH SARAJEVO



● DIRECT HIT ▲ DIRECT HIT IN THE ROOF ○ DIRECT HIT IN THE FASADE △ ROOF DAMAGE
▣ PARTLY BURNT ■ COMPLETELY BURNT DOWN ▣ COMPLETELY DESTROYED

Name/Place/Year of
destruction

Religious buildings destroyed or damaged during Yugoslav Wars

1
Catholic church in
Brčko, Bosnia and
Herzegovina, 1992



1.

2
Orthodox Monas-
tery of the Holy
Trinity, Mušutište,
Kosovo, 1999



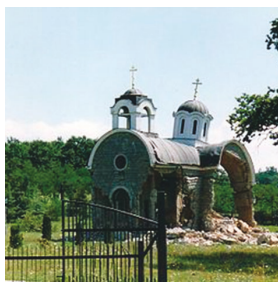
2.



3.

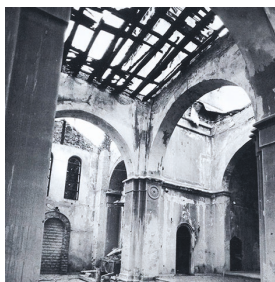
3
Orthodox Church
of the Mother of
God Hodegetria,
Mušutište, Kosovo,
1999

4
Orthodox Church of
Holy Trinity, Petrič,
Kosovo, 1999



4.

5
Franciscan Monas-
tery and the Church
of St. Anthony of
Padua, Knin, Croa-
tia, 1993



5.



6.

6
Hungarian
Reformed Church,
Laslovo Szentlászló,
Croatia, 1991



7.

7
Monastery of the
Presentation of the
Mother of God, Dol-
ac, Kosovo, 1999



8.



9.

8
Orthodox Church of
Saint Kyriaki, Karin
Gornji, Croatia, 1995

9
Orthodox Church of
St. Elijah, Podujevo,
Kosovo, 1999

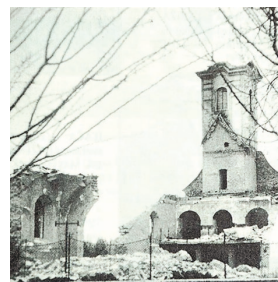


10.

10
Orthodox Church of
the Holy Apostles
Peter and Paul,
Suva Reka, Kosovo,
1999



11.



12.

11
Orthodox Monas-
tery of the Holy
Trinity, Mušutište,
Kosovo, 1999

12
Roman Catholic Par-
ish Church, Lovas,
Croatia, 1991



13.

13
Orthodox Church
of the Holy Prophet
Elijah, Donji Kašić,
Croatia, 1993



14.



15.

14
Roman Catholic
Parish Church,
Cetingrad, Croatia,
1993

15
Serbian Cathedral
of the Holy Trinity in
Djakovica, Kosovo,
1999



16.



17.



18.

16
Vitina mosque,
Bosnia and Herze-
govina, 1994

17
Mosque in Donji
Ahmići, Bosnia and
Herzegovina, 1993

18
Čaršijska mosque,
Bosnia and Herze-
govina, 1996



19.



20.



21.

19
Mosque of Hasan
Pasha, Mušutište,
Kosovo, 1999

20
Novo Selo mosque,
Bosnia and Herze-
govina, 1999

21
Donja Misoča
Mosque, Bosnia
and Herzegovina,
1996

22
Mosque in Pudín
Han-Velagići
(Hadžići), Bosnia
and Herzegovina,
1993



22.



23.



24.

23
Mosque in Večići,
Bosnia and Herze-
govina, 1992

24
Ahatovići mosque,
Bosnia and Herze-
govina, 1992.

25
Old mosque in
Hambarine, Bosnia
and Herzegovina,
2002.



25.



26.



27.

26
Mutnik mosque in
Kozarac, Bosnia
and Herzegovina,
1999

27
Humići mosque,
Bosnia and Herze-
govina, 1992

28
Mosque in Sanski
Most, Bosnia and
Herzegovina 1992



28.



29.



30.

29
Donji Kamengrad
mosque, Bosnia
and Herzegovina,
1996

30
Mosque in Ahmići,
Bosnia and Herze-
govina , 1993.

AERIAL VIEW

19

Sina Zekavat, *Aerial Imperialism: Syrian Ruinscapes and Vertical Media* (Failed Architecture, failedarchitecture.com, 2017).

20

Zekavat, *Aerial Imperialism: Syrian Ruinscapes and Vertical Media*

Figure 9 ▶

Aerial image of Homs captured by Russian drones flying above the city after the carpet aerial bombardments by the Russian and Syrian air forces.

Figure 10 ▶

Screenshot showing images of the smokescreen and the Aleppo citizens who took part in the collective action.

In contrast to targeted destruction with carefully chosen targets, carpet aerial bombing aims maximum destruction of large area. In this way, message becomes vaguer, often it is used to create terror in general, rather than pointing out ethnic tensions. As such mass destruction does not give a room for targets identification; victims of it suffer for just being physically in siege area, which applies to both people and buildings. Randomness and totality of carpet-bombings straightens their terror aftermath.

To understand the role of mass destruction of cities and its spatial change, it worth analysing, how such destruction caused by carpet-bombing is being shown in media. With modern technologies, it is possible to watch wars online. There is obviously an obsession with shock content, which massive war destruction is perfect example of. Straightened with invention of online streaming and drones filming, it also becomes very easily accessible.

“A top-down spatial narration and production tactic imposes a new monumental image of war as an abstract field of non-relations devoid of human bodily presence and experience.”¹⁹

At the same time, specifically aerial view videos depicting ruinscapes can tell us something important about destruction perception and interpretation. Mass destruction of Syrian cities is being widely shown in media, especially with content provided by Syrian regime and its allies. Drone videos, however are a new perspective on showing destruction. It is a distant view on conflict, which turns human tragedy into gaming dystopia landscape. Losses on earth are not visible, so neglected.

One event speaks volumes about God-like top-down nature of both carpet-bombings and aerial view filming of it. In August 2016, when citizens of eastern Aleppo realized there will be no peaceful end to continuous air bombings, they started to burn piles of car tires around area. Black smoke clouds above the city were meant to disrupt view from the sky and prevent carpet-bombings. For four days, locals were creating this immaterial civil defence. Sadly, black smoke did not prevent bombings and civil deaths. *“It is more a form of civil disobedience and expression than actually being able to stop the planes,”* said Ameen al-Halabi, a photographer working in eastern Aleppo¹⁹.

Besides the obvious defensive nature of this act of desperation, there is also a strong symbolic meaning of this act. Civil people were fighting the sky, as a source of danger and blind and total destruction, which does not see its victims from aerial view they are shooting from. It was a fight for human perspective in conflict instead of distancing from it. In this way, such depicting of war intends to make top-down destruction normal, vanishes real loss and blurs responsibility²⁰.

Also, carpet-bombings, by creating such a big void with random and total destruction, make a complete erasure, “zero-level” situation. Historic continuity is broken, population demoralized, belonging to the place is used to be is not possible with all its physical environment disappeared. By picturing such situation as monumental abstract ruin landscape, media only legalizes further violence and hiding human-scale perspective.



WARBLOG

21

cityblogging,
(voyantes.net, 2006).

Figure 11 ►

Poster by Paul Keller,
2006

Figure 12, 13 ►►

Illustrations by
Mazen Kebaj

Figure 14 ►►

A picture shows the
balcony of an old
house in Beirut on
September 19, 2010.
Photo: Joseph Eid.

There are, however, ways to keep human-scale experience of destruction, as a most trustworthy source of information about distant events. Bringing war destruction back to context, can make a huge difference. Ruins need more specific and critical analysis, as physical evidence of political actions, undeniable consequences of organized military violence. It is crucially important to work with local journalists and civil citizens, as physical experience of conflict is the key aspect in ability of its true depiction.

During Israeli attack on Lebanon, Beirut-based artist Mazen Kerbaj was posting illustrations daily on his personal blog. Pictures describe conflict from a civilian point of view, just from the heart of urban siege. Comics-like images were found online by Dutch artist Paul Keller, who started printing them on A4 papers and put around streets of Amsterdam. This connection between two very different realities throw universal language of art were even more astonishing, as they were up-to-date, almost live reports from bombed Beirut.²¹

Such personal, local and online exchange of destruction experience gives a humanistic point of view on conflict, normally so hard to find in official news. There were many “war bloggers” in Beirut under attack, unable to influence government-controlled media depiction of conflict, Lebanese creatives used internet, which was luckily available, to share their critical respond, feelings of helplessness and sorrow. Story, told by civil citizens with their own words, narrative and interpretations – this is what can help distanced understanding, the “otherness” of war victims and illusion of abstract nature of the conflict.



IT'S BEEN
20
DAYS

i CAN'T READ



i HAVE
DIGESTIVE
PROBLEMS

i EAT ONCE (or twice)
EACH DAY



i CAN'T SLEEP



from: <http://mazenkerblog.blogspot.com/>



TODAY OUR PRIME MINISTER
SHOWED THE REAL SITUATION OF
THE LEBANESE PEOPLE BY CRYING



FORENSIC ARCHITECTURE

22
www.forensic-architecture.org

23

Rowan Moore, Forensic Architecture: The Detail behind the Devilry (The Guardian, 2018).

Technologies, such as online streaming, social media and massive photo and video fixation, can also play a huge role in war crimes investigations. In the times of continuous facts manipulations and lies in media, internet user's data can help to rebuild events with high level of accuracy. Moreover, architects with their ability for spatial modelling skills can contribute a lot in this process.

Forensic Architecture is a research agency based at Goldsmiths, University of London²². It is a multidisciplinary collective working on violations of human rights, conflicts and catastrophes investigations, using data combined with architectural modelling and analysis, and simulations. On the website they call themselves "an architectural detective agency"²³. Also claiming that they are inventing new sub-discipline of architecture, agency is creating 3d simulations on the edge of virtual and physical reality, to check the relevance of visual materials used in the news feed and help to find out the true details of event.

Forensic Architecture is using surveillance cameras footage, social media and every visual material linked to the event to make a 3d model and simulation. By doing so, the hidden part of videos become visible, as well as spatial aspects, impossible to understand with the footage with only one point of view.

Taking a side of civil population, agency claims not to take any of the conflict's side, nor accepting donations from politically-motivated sponsors. Their focus is to model the event timeline as precise as possible and to make unknown details of it clear. Viewer is left to make his own conclusions.

Analysing the way destruction is being pictured in memory and turned into memorial history, I come to the conclusion that the method, that was developed by Forensic Architecture, although is still experimental and requires further development and recognition, can be an efficient tool to fight manipulations and lies about military violence, its reasons and consequences.



Figure 15 ▲
M2 HOSPITAL. Pro-Government strikes on M2 hospital, Aleppo, Syria, June-December 2016. Image: Forensic Architecture.

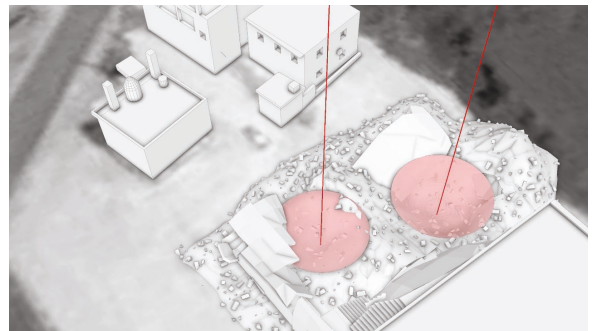
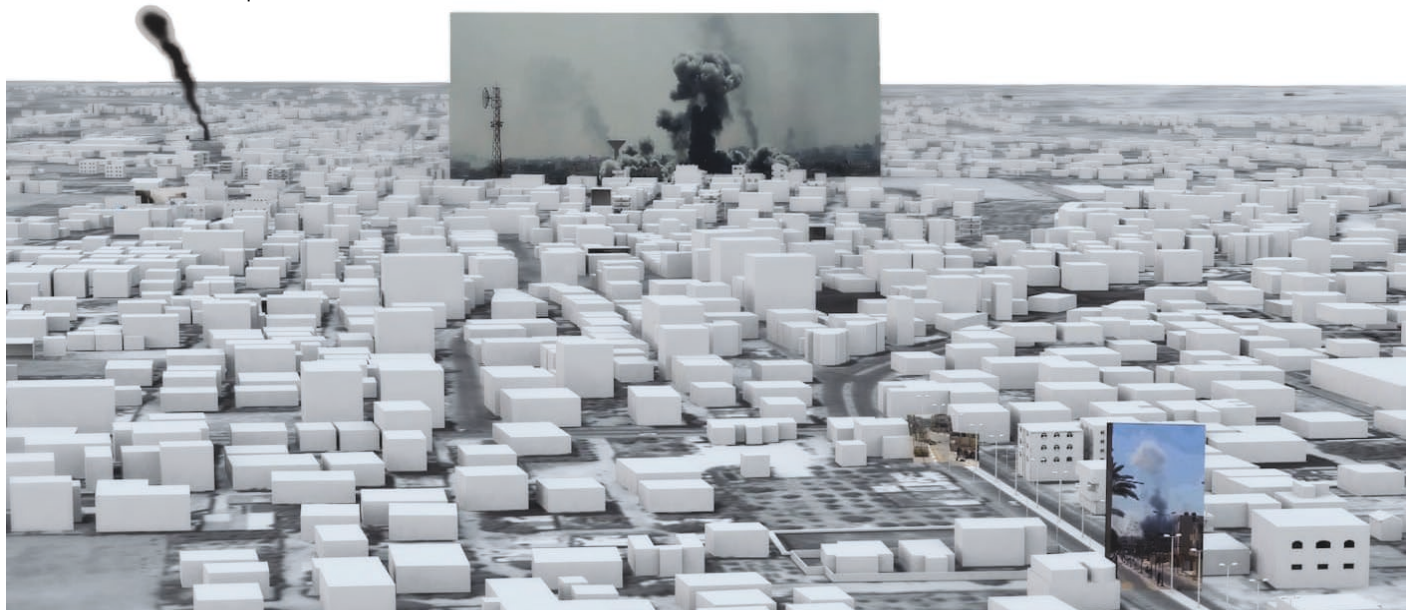
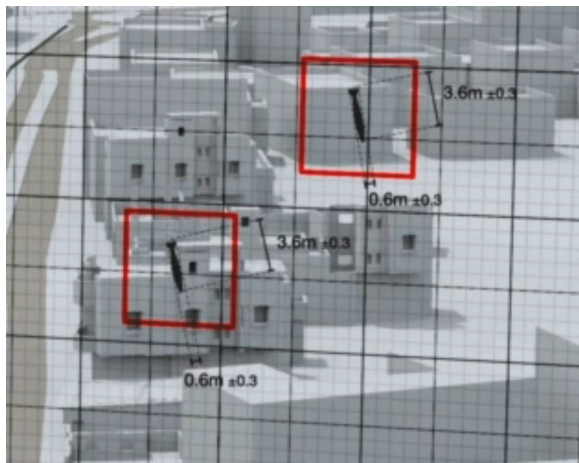
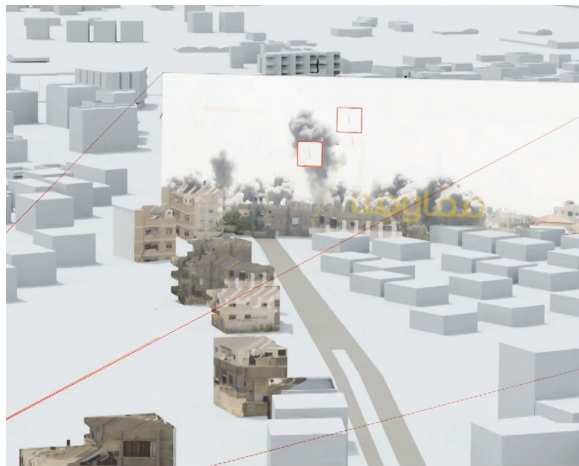


Figure 16 ▲
AL-JINAH MOSQUE, US airstrike in Al-Jinah, Syria: Architectural assessment confirms building targeted was a functioning mosque; US misidentification possibly the cause for civilian casualties. Image: Forensic Architecture.

Figure 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 ▼►
RAFAH: BLACK FRIDAY. Report on the war operations of 1-4 August 2014, in Rafah, Gaza. Image: Forensic Architecture.







FINAL ACT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL
CONFERENCE ON THE PROTECTION OF
CULTURAL PROPERTY IN THE EVENT
OF ARMED CONFLICT, THE HAGUE, 1954

ACTA FINAL DE LA CONFERENCIA INTER-
GUBERNAMENTAL SOBRE LA PROTECCIÓN
DE LOS BIENES CULTURALES EN CASO DE
CONFLICTO ARMADO, LA HAYA, 1954

ACTE FINAL DE LA CONFÉRENCE INTER-
GOUVERNEMENTALE SUR LA PROTECTION
DES BIENS CULTURELS EN CAS DE
CONFLIT ARMÉ, LA HAYE, 1954

ЗАКЛЮЧИТЕЛЬНЫЙ АКТ МЕЖПРАВИТЕЛЬ-
СТВЕННОЙ КОНФЕРЕНЦИИ О ЗАЩИТЕ
КУЛЬТУРНЫХ ЦЕННОСТЕЙ В СЛУЧАЕ
ВООРУЖЕННОГО КОНФЛИКТА,
ГААГА, 1954



DESTRUCTION AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

Destruction as violence against inhabited environment was recognized by Hague Tribunal. Several trials about it took place: about shelling of the Old City of Dubrovnik, or religious heritage destroyed in Kosovo. The Hague and Geneva Conventions deal specifically with violence against built heritage. It is included to one of the forms of persecution now, as earlier it was only about actions about people, such as deportations, discriminatory laws, etc.²⁴

Although most of the world's countries signed 1954 Hague Convention (among those who did not are UK and USA), war crimes against cultural heritage around the world are still happening nowadays. Convention was created after mass destruction of heritage during the Second World War. It first of all aimed to set certain war ethics along military forces, which, obviously, failed. Modern conflicts seem to have tendencies exactly opposite to 1954 Hague Convention's good intentions: cultural heritage is actively targeted and destroyed.

Famous trial of Slobodan Milosevic opened up many legal questions of violence towards buildings. Materials about targeted architecture and its further destruction could be taken as a methodology about how such destruction is implemented.²⁵

Andrew Herscher states that the term "cultural heritage" usually used in international law is a very universal term, which means it will be valuable for humanity in whole. "In fact, violence not only destroys existing heritage but also produces new heritage. The architectural targets of violence often are subsumed as heritage by the communities that identify with or claim those targets; they become evidence of a community's victimization by a violent Other."²⁶ For example, post-conflict documentation in Kosovo was picturing as a heritage many religious or other buildings that were just built before being destroyed. So we can make a conclusion that in some cases, violence towards architecture can produce cultural symbols. By choosing targets of violence towards architecture, attackers in a certain way can define what will become the enemies' heritage after conflict.

Talking about International Law regulations on violence, it is important to mention that in such Conventions it is not only defined what violence is criminal, but also what destruction can be called necessary. This helps governments to legalize their actions in an international law.²⁷

Hague Convention for the Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (1954) – main international legal document about cultural property destruction in armed conflicts.

Key statements:

- Recognizing that cultural property has suffered grave damage during recent armed conflicts and that, by reason of the developments in the technique of warfare, it is in increasing danger of destruction;
- Being convinced that damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever means damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind, since each people makes its contribution to the culture of the world;
- Considering that the preservation of the cultural heritage is of great importance for all peoples of the world and that it is important that this heritage should receive international protection;
- Guided by the principles concerning the protection of cultural property during armed conflict, as established in the Conventions of The Hague of 1899 and of 1907 and in the Washington Pact of 15 April, 1935;
- Being of the opinion that such protection cannot be effective unless both national and international measures have been taken to organize it in time of peace;
- Being determined to take all possible steps to protect cultural property.

Article 1. Definition of cultural property

For the purposes of the present Convention, the term 'cultural property' shall cover, irrespective of origin or ownership:

- (a) movable or immovable property of great importance to the cultural heritage of every people, such as monuments of architecture, art or history, whether religious or secular; archaeological sites; groups of buildings which, as a whole, are of historical or artistic interest; works of art; manuscripts, books and other objects of artistic, historical or archaeological interest; as well as scientific collections and important collections of books or archives or of reproductions of the property defined above;
- (b) buildings whose main and effective purpose is to preserve or exhibit the movable cultural property defined in sub-paragraph (a) such as museums, large libraries and depositories of archives, and refuges intended to shelter, in the event of armed conflict, the movable cultural property defined in sub-paragraph (a);
- (c) centers containing a large amount of cultural property as defined in sub-paragraphs (a) and (b), to be known as 'centers containing monuments'.

Article 5. Occupation

1. Any High Contracting Party in occupation of the whole or part of the territory of another High Contracting Party shall as far as possible support the competent national authorities of the occupied country in safeguarding and preserving its cultural property.
2. Should it prove necessary to take measures to preserve cultural property situated in occupied territory and damaged by military operations, and should the competent national authorities be unable to take such measures, the Occupying Power shall, as far as possible, and in close co-operation with such authorities, take the most necessary measures of preservation.
3. Any High Contracting Party whose government is considered their legitimate government by members of a resist

Article 7. Military measures

1. The High Contracting Parties undertake to introduce in time of peace into their military regulations or instructions such provisions as may ensure observance of the present Convention, and to foster in the members of their armed forces a spirit of respect for the culture and cultural property of all peoples.
2. The High Contracting Parties undertake to plan or establish in peace-time, within their armed forces, services or specialist personnel whose purpose will be to secure respect for cultural property and to co-operate with the civilian authorities responsible for safeguarding it.²⁸

24

Christian Ernten and Malkit Shoshan, interview with Andrew Herscher, Violence, Destruction and International Law, (Volume#11: Cities Unbuilt, 2007), 129.

25

Ernten, Shoshan, Herscher, Violence, Destruction and International Law, 129.

26

Ernten, Shoshan, Herscher, Violence, Destruction and International Law, 129.

27

Ernten, Shoshan, Herscher, Violence, Destruction and International Law, 130.

28

Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict with Regulations for the Execution of the Convention. (unesco, 1954)

◀ Figure 22

1954 Hague Convention cover page.

Taking violent destruction of built environment into the architectural discourse gives us an opportunity to analyse targeted attack on buildings in completely different perspective. By putting warchitecture (as unbuilding) opposed to architecture (as building) on the same level, we accept existence of it as a physical translation of politics. Ironically, international convention, when talking about warchitecture as an attack on cultural heritage, is also putting destruction in position of flexible interpretation. It not only describes which type of destruction is considered for war criminal offence, but also allows certain level of built environment destruction, if it is “a military necessity”. So categorizing of destruction and its goals, what to consider “legal” remains pretty vague.

For a long time destruction has been something opposed to culture and civilization, although there was no civilization in humans history without wars. Targeting architecture as a collective cultural and memorial container, has become a common practice in recent conflicts around the globe. Besides for careful investigation needed of goals and tactics of such attacks to achieve justice, it is also crucially important how the global society reflects on it. Public image of destruction can influence the conflict's destiny and repetition.

As top-down view on urban siege aftermath is switching the public focus towards abstract antiutopian image with no connection to context; reflections expressed by those destined to experience war violence, are essential for true war depiction. Personal stories of real people also help a lot with developing empathy, as they have strength to overcome cultural and religious differences and bring the discussion back on humanistic level. Architecture can make its contribution to this process in many ways, including spatial modelling investigation methods, such as Forensic Architecture.



CHAPTER 2

SEPARATION





WALL AND THE CITY

Relationship of early cities and walls, fortifications and segregated communities are key to understanding modern conflicts separation. Walls and cities have a long story together: in the early settlements, they provided collective security and were necessary for city to survive numerous attacks from outside. It was also a social fortress: belonging to city meant be a part of city's life provision and its defence. Wall served as a physical divider and has defined size, structure and defence abilities of city. In this way, passive collective safety was provided by city wall. Control over citizens was also efficient within it, watch towers and guards monitoring area were meant to keep city safe and controlled. City-states are a good example of that autonomy behind city walls, where community was united by common needs and deeply interdependent; despite any inner confrontation possible, solidarity was a key to survival. Fortification wall was a physical representation of safety.

Growth of cities, complexification and diversification of their communities lead to the big change of fortress wall meaning and function. Perimeter walls of citadels were growing in their importance together with city, at the same time making difference between living inside or outside of them sharper. Community becomes bigger and more complex. Outer city walls were losing their importance: they did not allow city to grow, were too expensive and slow to build, could not defend city from weapons of new technologies.²⁹

However, walls and borders still appeared in cities, but had another new meaning: separation inside the city itself. With the city growth, collective spirit of fortified community also began to suffer: society inside fortification begins to divide itself into smaller units, resulting with confrontations and discrimination. Urban community becomes more complex and solidarity switches to competition and prejudice. Smaller fortifications inside city walls appeared. Step by step, temporary inside-city partitions became permanent phenomena. It got into the urban planning logic: in-

frastructure build around enclaves, buffer zones and other tools to separate confronting communities inside the city.

Although architecture of separation is quite common still for not-at-war societies, urban separation has also become a satellite of armed conflicts. Cities, ones divided by siege and occupation politics, often remain separated long after wall fallen. Physical separations cause "mental walls", making differences and fear of "the otherness" in community deeper and difficult to overcome .

War has its own diverse language of physical and spatial separation: borders and checkpoints, ghetto settlements, abandonment and eviction from homes, infrastructure cuts and so on . Separation is widely used as tool of control and terror in armed conflicts, e.g. occupation and colonization. Displacement is also often resulting from forced separation, as a strong factor in quality of living and sense of belonging to place. Architecture, plays a crucial role in fortification design, creates effective tools of separation and control in modern world, including cities of conflict.

Divided cities are often associated with civil wars, and there are some supporting statistics. 59 of 64 wars in period of 1945 – 1988 were intrastate, and around 80 percent of killed were killed by people of same nationality. At the same time, civilian urban population have been affected increasingly: in First World war civilians made about 43% of killed, in the Second World war – 59, and since then till our time amount of civil victims in wars is as high as 74% . Naturally, civilians become more fragile in modern conflicts, unlike military, not able to leave the troubled zoned, left to deal with conflict consequences³⁰.

"Once in place, the barriers separating disputing groups become the mechanisms for sustaining the urban pathology of communities at war with themselves."

LEBBEUS WOODS

Ironically, most of divided cities were known as ethnically diverse and were believed to cope well with it until certain events. In this investigation we are looking for a role of architect in after-war processes, when reconstructing city landscape physically is interconnected to reuniting society as well.

In this paper, three cities: Nicosia, Mostar and Belfast are used for analysis as illustrative cases of consequences of violent separation.

29

Jon Calame, Esther Ruth Charlesworth. *Divided Cities : Belfast, Beirut, Jerusalem, Mostar, and Nicosia* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

30

Calame, Charlesworth. *Divided Cities : Belfast, Beirut, Jerusalem, Mostar, and Nicosia*

◀ Figure 23 (Chapter cover)

A street view from south Nicosia, October 2016. Nicosia has the most dead end streets in the world. Barricades stand just before the Buffer Zone. Photo: Sahan Nuhoglu

◀ Figure 24

British troops erect barbed wire barricades across a street in the heart of Nicosia on May 30, 1956, to form what was known then as the "Clemens Line". Photo: Pachyamos Village Museum

◀ Figure 25

Central Nicosia, sections of the Clemens Line 1964. Photo: Pachyamos Village Museum

THE LAST DIVIDED CAPITAL

31

Helena Smith, "In Nicosia, the World's Last Divided Capital, a Spirit of Reconciliation Is Stirring across the Fence | World News | The Guardian," 2017.

32

UNFICYP Background, (UN.Org)

33

Calame, Charles-worth. Divided Cities : Belfast, Beirut, Jerusalem, Mostar, and Nicosia

34

Calame, Charles-worth. Divided Cities : Belfast, Beirut, Jerusalem, Mostar, and Nicosia

35

Anita Bakshi, One Island, Many Histories : Rethinking the Politics of the Past in Cyprus, (Divided Memory and Architecture in Nicosia, conflictincities.org, 2008)

36

Huriye Gurdalli, "(UN) HEALING THE URBAN SCAR IN NICOSIA : SPATIAL AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN POST" 01 (2016): 201-7.

Green Line or Attila Line was drawn in 1963 to separate Greek and Turkish populated parts of city. Nowadays in the "world's last divided capital"³¹ there is a UN patrolled buffer zone, with area around it being abandoned. City is split in the middle of old town; same line divides the rest of island. In the capital, Green line occupies 346 km², and it's width can vary from 20 meters to 7 kilometres.³²

Ethnic division started from 1571, when Ottoman Empire occupation resulted in giving privilege to Muslim community, which made Greek community seek for support from Greek Orthodox Church. Since then, Cyprus has become a battlefield for political interests of third parties, which lead to further division, kindly supported by empires seeking for influence on the island.

The Green Line, which divides the whole island, goes through its capital, Nicosia and is around 10 km long. System of walls and system vary from one district to another, but usually is 4 m height and 1 m wide. Buffer zone increases in some places and separation fencing sometimes becomes minimal or none.³³

The line as physical separation began to appear in 1955. At the beginning, it was mostly voluntary border in the old city. Lately, in period of 1963 to 1974 it got the name Green Line and expanded, including buffer areas. It was mostly open for pedestrians and cars via British monitored checkpoints, straightened only in case of conflict escalations. The last stage of the Line development, which made it fortified, was after Turkish invasion in 1974. Since then, it is monitored by UN peacekeepers, has a large buffer zone in the old city and only one check-point for passing. However, since 2003 many more unprecedented crossings appeared.³⁴

Big part of old city centre, swallowed by buffer zone, is now called Dead Zone. Although, the name "Green Line" also suits well, as across it nature has taken over, making area closed for people flourish with greenery.

In the heart of the Walled City, districts of historic buildings are abandoned and left to ruin. Across the division line, many streets dead ends appeared, the city centre became its edge. This drastic change of spatial status, made old city centre unattractive for local businesses, commerce had to move from it towards North or South accordingly. City fabric reacted on separation: as the city centre was lost in the abandoned and militarized buffer zone, new city centres appeared on both sides of division line. As there was a need for administrative and many other buildings, previously located in the centre, Nicosia split and grown two new centres, like a bio cell when dividing.

There is a big discussion about what will happen to the Dead city zone after possible unification. There were many examples in the recent history, such as Berlin wall, and we can learn a lot on results of its removal. Will buffer zone in Nicosia become another tourist attraction or consumerism centre with all marks of previous division erased?

Nicosia Master Plan, initiated by United Nations Development Program, has guided reconstruction in both sides of the city in 1985-2004 and was an attempt to create a strategy towards unified city. Multi-ethnic (both Greek and Turkish Cypriots) and multidisciplinary team of professionals, including architects, sociologists, politicians and economists gave a valuable example of that post-conflict reconstruction should not be perceived only as an architectural planning task³⁵.

One day, I stumbled upon the two confronting each other in capitals across the Dead Zone. "I DON'T FORGET" in Greek was inside Lefkosa, while in Lefkosa the reply in Turkish went: "WE WON'T FORGET THE SLAUGHTER EITHER." They were meant to be read by those on the other side, but since each was written in a language which the other side no longer understood, the effect was largely lost. Two desperate screams that remained unheard. A wall reflected them back."

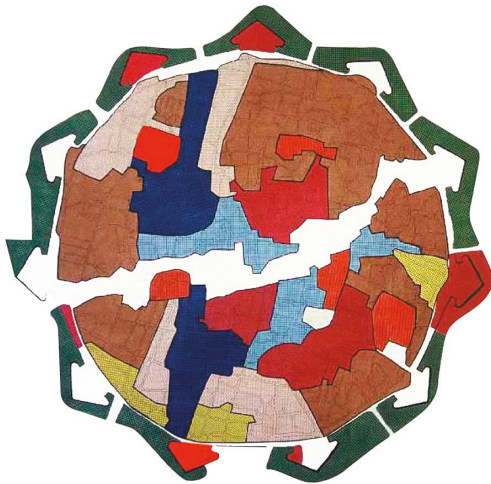
YIANNIS PAPADAKIS³⁶



Figure 26

Green Line + The historic centre of Nicosia enclosed by the Venetian walls. Source: Nicosia Master Plan



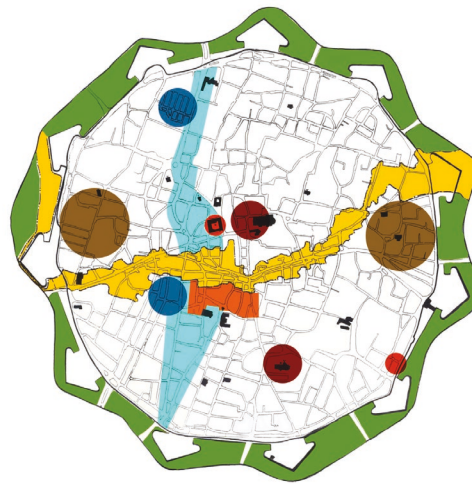


POLICY OF INTERVENTION

- | | |
|--|---|
| ■ Residential areas to be rehabilitated | ■ Public administration areas |
| ■ Shopping area to be maintained and improved | ■ Areas of architectural and cultural value to be redesigned |
| ■ Artisans and traditional shopping areas to be rehabilitated | ■ Areas to be conserved for educational purposes |
| ■ Mixed use areas to be maintained and improved | ■ Tourist and leisure facilities |
| | ■ Green areas to be redesigned |

In the first phase, research and database about both parts of divided city was created, as well as projects of emergency support. In the second phase, more detailed working plan for the city centre was the focus. In the latest stage, the group of specialists was working on transport circulation and pedestrian connection, aiming to link old city centre with new urban developments outside the city wall. One of the strategies for the buffer zone was revitalization of traditional residential quarters, which was left due to numerous conflicts on the border. In the same time, plans for restoration of historic heritage in the old city centre on both sides of Green Line, are called to bring life back to the area.³⁷

Project has become a negotiation tool seeking for universal values and provided important communication between opposing communities. However, on contrary to equal division and good communication inside the project team, there was lack of work with the community besides group of professionals. Top-down nature of Master Plan caused lack of consensus made it not flexible. Despite this, as a pilot project with small scale interventions and restorations on both sides of Nicosia, Master plan was a successful project that opened discussion and ne-



REHABILITATION OF NICOSIA
bi-communal priority investment projects

- | | |
|--|---|
| ■ Crysalliotissa and Arab Ahmed housing rehabilitation projects | ■ Restoration of monuments Old acqeduct, Beyouk chan |
| ■ Pedestrianisation scheme of the commercial area | ■ Omerye and Selimye projects |
| ■ Survey of the buffer zone | ■ Phaneromeni and Samanbahce project areas |
| | ■ Phaneromeni phase 2 project |

gotiation, crucially important for any divided city.³⁸ Another project, as a continuation of Nicosia Master Plan, is The New Vision Project, organizing lectures, workshops and discussions, aiming to bring local interest to the buffer zone and develop communication and collaboration within two communities. In 2011 educational centre called Home for Cooperation was founded in the buffer zone, including library, archive, offices, event hall and exhibition space, serving for both communities. This project, sponsored by Norway, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Sweden, Switzerland and the Republic of Cyprus, has become a connecting bridge, the only bi-communal building in the city.³⁹

Mentioned projects are giving a hope for divided cities to overcome violent separation. By changing interpretation, by creating shared historic heritage from the buffer zone, equally restoring iconic buildings on both sides and, most important, working on it together.

37

Gurdalli, "(UN) HEALING THE URBAN SCAR IN NICOSIA : SPATIAL AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN POST."

38

Esther Charlesworth, Architects should act!, Volume : Cities Unbuilt, 13.

39

Gurdalli, "(UN) HEALING THE URBAN SCAR IN NICOSIA : SPATIAL AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN POST."

◀ Figure 27

With no one allowed into the buffer zone except UN peacekeepers the buildings have fallen into disrepair and nature allowed to take over. Photo: Richard Wainwright

▲ Figure 28

Intervention policy map, Nicosia Master Plan.

▲ Figure 29

Rehabilitation policy map, Nicosia Master Plan.



FOTO STUDIO
novembar / nov

MOSTAR BRIDGE

In Bosnia-Herzegovina war (1992-1995), Mostar was the city, most affected by mass destruction. Having long history (founded in 13th century) of being an Ottoman, Austrian-Hungarian and Yugoslavian, it has rich architectural heritage. "Mostar" means "bridge keeper" and the name comes from the bridge across Neretva river and guardians, watching people coming to the city by that bridge. The Old Bridge was an extraordinary work of Ottoman period built in 1566.

Before 1992 it was a most ethnically – integrated city in Bosnia. It's separation seems to be a result of Croatian nationalist ideas, with a goal to fight Bosnia-Herzegovina and everything that belongs to its identity⁴⁰.

A war, resulted in collapse of Yugoslavia, started in 1992; first battle in Mostar happened in April. Heavy artillery attacks lasted for 3 months. Successfully defended by the Mostar Battalion, Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Bosnian Croat militia (HVO), city had to face another siege soon. In May 1993, western part is cleansed from non-Croats by HVO, remained Muslims and Bosnians moved to already hardly damaged eastern part, and were shelled by HVO in there. In this way, city was divided into Muslim east and non-Muslim west parts. This division still remains in collective memory of the city.

Nearly 70 percent of the city was destroyed, about 40 000 people left. Besides the human loss, there were also signs of architecture, if analysing organized destruction targets. Building that were identifiers for opposite communities were targeted first.⁴¹

In 1993 the old bridge was destroyed by Croatian artillery. Symbolism of this act is clear: to break all connections with the past, erase memory, vanish the hope, kill the will of the city to live further.

An important question is the one Bogdan Bogdanović iterated after the demolition of the Old Bridge: "This leads us to the inevitable question whether

we understand what the irreversible disappearing of a city brings about. If the city is an unsurpassed storage of memories, one that surpasses the memories of a nation, race, language by far, what will be the consequences of that disappearance?"

In 1992, most of the destruction took place: city was ruined just in two months. There is a documentation for buildings gone:

"All the bridges have been destroyed except the Old Bridge; out of 14 town mosques only two remained undamaged. The Catholic church at Potoci village, the Franciscan church in Mostar, the Episcopal Residence, the monastery of the Franciscan sisters at Bijelo Polje have been burnt, the cathedral of Mostar shelled. The Palace of Culture, the museum, the archives and the library have been damaged. All of the Mostar hotels, schools, dormitories and colleges have been ruined. The town beauty, the hotel "Neretva" is on fire. The "town houses" are ablaze: the bath, the court, the Town Hall, the cadaster." Mostar '92 Urbicid.⁴²

During the following siege it was shelled furthermore. At a certain point, it was the Old Bridge that was the last remaining connection of the divided city, and the icon of the city resisting. The moment it was destroyed, the hope for the city was gone, it was dead. The bridge defined the whole city, with its destruction it was lost.⁴²

Among the Old Bridge, all the other bridges in Mostar were destroyed, making a literal metaphor of broken connections. Bridges in Mostar always served as public space, in the same time, most of important public buildings as well.

In 2004 the Old Bridge was rebuilt. Its opening was a big international event, on the UNESCO website it was declared that "the reconstructed old bridge and old city of Mostar are symbols of reconciliation, international collaboration and the peaceful coexistence of different cultural, ethnical and religious communities".

However, after the bridge restoration, city remained strictly divided. No public transport going across the river, different phone numbers, education, city services – all separated to Muslim Eastern and Cristian Western parts of city. "The life of ordinary people on this artificially divided space has become absurd," said a report by the international authority running Bosnia last December. "The situation is unacceptable and unsustainable."⁴³ Violently segregated communities are struggling to communicate and physical reconnection does not help without wide program on negotiation and bi-communal interactions.

40

Ian Traynor, "Bridge Opens but Mostar Remains a Divided City | World News | The Guardian," 2004

41

Arna Mackic, "Mortal Cities: The Irreversible Disappearance of Mostar - Failed Architecture," 2014

42

Arna Mackic, "Mortal Cities: The Irreversible Disappearance of Mostar - Failed Architecture," 2014

43

Ian Traynor, "Bridge Opens but Mostar Remains a Divided City | World News | The Guardian."

◀ Figure 30

Mostar Old Bridge destroyed. Photo: Studio HADŽIĆ Mostar



The Old Bridge, Mostar. Left to right:

1. Early days
2. 1968
3. In '70s
4. 1992
5. The Old city after JNA artillery attacks, 1992
6. Damaged by JNA shelling, June 1992
7. Shortly before destruction, August 1993
8. Under attack
9. After destruction, 1993
10. Suspension bridge, 1994
11. Suspension bridge built after the war
12. Suspension bridge built by UNPROFOR, 1998
13. The reconstruction of the Old Bridge
14. The reconstructed Old Bridge inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List
15. Today



PEACE LINES

44

Calame and Charlesworth, *Divided Cities : Belfast, Beirut, Jerusalem, Mostar, and Nicosia*.

45

Gehan Selim and Andrew Abraham, "Peace by Piece: (Re) Imagining Division in Belfast's Contested Spaces through Memory," 2016

46

"Divided City I Prospect Magazine," accessed October 9, 2018

47

Selim and Abraham, "Peace by Piece: (Re) Imagining Division in Belfast's Contested Spaces through Memory."

Figure 31 ►

Belfast Peace lines, based on maps from Calame and Charlesworth, *Divided Cities : Belfast, Beirut, Jerusalem, Mostar, and Nicosia*.

Partitions between Catholic and Protestant neighbourhoods started to appear since 1969 in northwest part of the city. Tensions between two communities escalated with mass migration during the Second World war. City structure struggled facing quick growth of population, which caused competition and further division in society, made people moving close to their ethnic communities and form enclaves. As tension was growing, enclaves started to fortify. By the year 1967, territorial division between Catholics and Protestants in Belfast became almost total.⁴⁴ First, partitioning walls were meant to be temporary solution to protect opposing communities' quarters during "the Troubles". Initially appeared as barricades made by citizens to protect themselves from growing urban siege.

However, with time walls only expanded, with no overall city masterplan plan or strategy, besides creating fortified enclaves. Walls building was initiated locally by people from neighbourhood, vary on size and height, as well as materials used. It is an example of bottom-up partitioning project in city of conflict, later supported by government, unable to control violence in the city.

Walls were defining and separating segregated communities in a straightforward way, leaving no chance to mistake neighbourhood identity when moving around the city. At the same time, vast majority of Peace walls do not form an enclosed spaces, they can simply be walked around. This fortress character of separations that do not for an actual fortress inside the city, can be explained as the walls psychological need rather than functional necessity. Peace lines also became a stage for communication between opposing sides. Numerous graffiti, murals and flags marking to whom certain area belong, make an extra layer of visual presentation of the conflict.

Safety feeling, that Peace wall brought, were favoured by many locals. Although many partitions are now demolished, according to survey in 2012, 69% of Belfast citizens are still convinced that partitions are needed to keep peace. Locals still see dividers as form of security and protection.⁴⁵

While government is working on reunification projects and decision about complete demolishing of wall by 2023 was made in 2017, there is still tension in Belfast's northwest neighbourhoods, if not realized in violence, but rather in fear and lack of trust. Vast majority of children are still studying in single-religion schools and may never meet the other community representatives before they grow up. Segregated study on religious grounds is seen as a major problem in modern Belfast, that government is trying to overcome by making inclusive schools with no religion preference. Mixed marriages are also rare to happen⁴⁶. Division has become everyday framework for the city and its inhabitants. Past events and modern tensions are still articulated in the physical space⁴⁷.





Figure 32
Catholic children play fighting near the Falls Road 'peace wall' in 1997.
Photograph: Andrew Holbrooke/Corbis



33



34

◀ 33

Peace line.
Photo: Justin Ames

◀ 34

Peace line. Photo:
Nick Sarebi

◀ 35

The Cupar Way
'peace wall', which
divides the Protes-
tant Shankill Road
from the Catholic
Falls Road. Photo:
Antonio Olmos

◀ 36

Peace line. Photo:
Martin Melaugh.



35



36

◀ 37

A section of the
peace wall that
divides Catholic and
Protestant in west
Belfast. Photo: Ca-
thal McNaughton

◀ 38

Peace wall. Photo:
Charles McQuillan



37



38

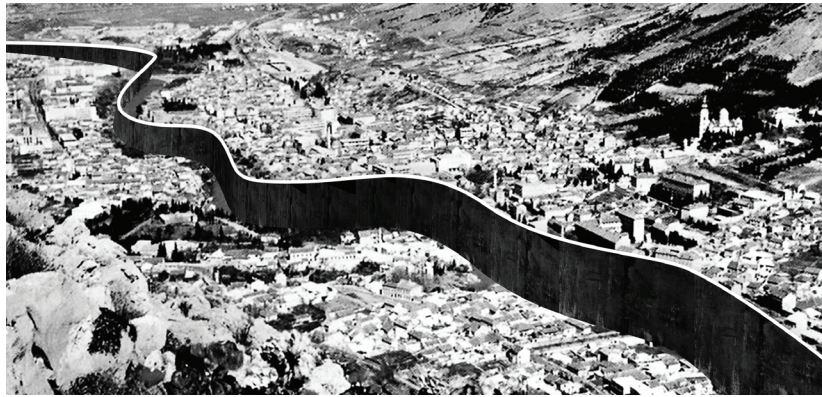
Inner borders that divide cities, have a tendency to grow quickly into "mental walls", and remain long after the wall was constructed. Therefore, long-perspective harm of physical separations is much stronger than up-to-date problem-solving they provide. Neither as a partition, meant to protect people on both sides of conflict, or segregation, caused the conflict escalation itself, or wall as an external intention to divide unite community, it is proven to fail in making peace and healthy relationships between opposing sides.

As a physical dimension of separated societies⁴⁸, partition borders can affect not only city structure but also directly built environment, turning buildings into the buffer zone, leaving them to rot. Story of Nicosia is indicative: city centre, physically cut in two parts, suddenly became outskirts and lost it's value, resulting in abandonment of the oldest historic part of city. Buffer buildings turn into fortresses and then into ruins, being associated with conflict's borderline, they often left empty even after milder regime in separation zone occur.

Separation can be also achieved through breaking connections. In the Mostar case, bridges, as symbol of unity serving as public places and physical connectors, have fallen under attack on history and memory of Mostar as multicultural city. Again, violently divided city still struggles to get together, even if all bridges are restored, mental connection was lost for long.

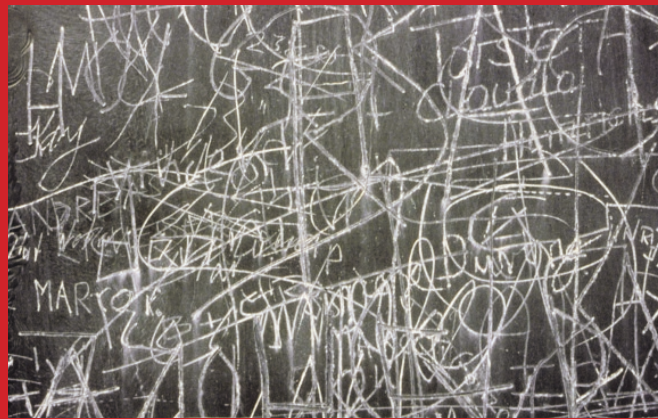
Despite damage nature of inner city separations, removing them without considering underlying problem might not help divided society to unite and turn out as quick and easy step leading to unsolved tension, just like the borders were themselves⁴⁹. War-generated city dividers need the most careful attention after the conflict is over. Picturing such partitions as an urban crisis and physical representation of political struggle, certain repetitive patterns appear at all cases.

Divided city's walls are not an exception, but rather physical representation of crisis. Different spatial scenarios can occur resulting violent partitions: streets dead ends, cut of transport infrastructure, labyrinths of walled enclaves, and, most importantly, under certain conditions they may occur in any city around the globe.



CHAPTER 3

MEMORY



MEMORY AND FORGETTING

From a scientific point of view, memory mechanisms remain barely discovered. It is obvious that the capacity for memory storage in our conscious is very limited, which means certain picking logic needed to sort memories, as needed or unnecessary to store. Moreover, memories of the same events can vary so much within different people, that memory itself is much more an interpretation than an information recorded and stored. As Lebbeus Woods pointed out: "This suggests that memories are not discrete packages, but fluid in their form and content, and the act of remembering is almost a matter of their being assembled anew for every recollection."⁵⁰

Another key part of memory mechanism is forgetting. Having limited capacity, unable to process all the memories of our lifetime, we forget. In this way, things we forget are equally crucial as the ones we remember. Moving to post-trauma societies, forgetting and remembering interdependence understanding can be a key to mourning practice for healing.

Due to modern researches, traumatic memories have some particular qualities comparing to usual ones. The traumatic memory cause adrenaline rush every time it is remembered, even more, it is being re-collected⁵¹. In this way, on psychological level, person faced some trauma in past, is "living" it again, every time it is being recalled. Forgetting is crucially important for healing trauma, including collective trauma caused by war.

At the same time, when talking about post-trauma societies, remembering is often associated with preventing tragedy to happen again, in other words, learning. Transforming memories into experience without getting stuck in traumatic moment and also avoid forgetting as denying it – this is, to my opinion, the major task for all professionals dealing with post-trauma societies.

Talking about role of Architecture and Space in memory/forgetting processes of post-war societies, we should also consider the role of material environment in it. How built environment affects our perception of past events? How objects can work as memorial triggers? Understanding these processes, we can articulate principles of restoration and memorialization, as methods of healing.

In his lecture "The art of Forgetting"⁵², Adrian Forty states, that in a western tradition, starting Renaissance, it was believed that memory can be transferred into physical object, as an analogue of memory. This concept is the closest to Aristotle's vision of memory, as an imprint of events. The imprint can fade causing the memory disappearance, but can be transported into a physical object to preserve memory apart from its natural life. The most obvious example of it is photography: moment is preserved as

the picture of it taken, but if the picture is destroyed, forgetting appears⁵³.

However, there are also other memory concepts existing in non-European cultures. For example ritual in African tribe, where in order to commemorate something, temporary object is being made to be shown just for a moment and then left for decay (sometimes also sold to Eastern collectors. In this case, we can see that Aristotle concept is not relevant. The object is just taking part in commemoration event once and loses its value after. So the object is not perceived as a physical representation of memory, it is an "ephemeral monument".⁵⁴

These two opposite conceptions of how memory is connected to objects, brings us to conversation about what is the role of physical environment in collective memory and how to work with it in post-war societies.

Concept of collective memory is relatively new. First mentioned the second half of 19th century, in 1950 Maurice Halbwachs book "la mémoire collective" discovers the mechanisms of this concept. Collective memory in his interpretation is memory created by individuals into a group, sum of separate memories. It can be passed, constructed and is shared within member of a group. In this way, collective memory is not necessarily the personal experience of each member.⁵⁵ What is important for working with memorialization is that collective memory is also selective: some memories are kept when the others are erased.

Due to Halbwachs, memory is "a reconstruction of the past using data from the present." So what is this data from the present? It can be called in general "cultural framework", unity of present events that may trigger appearance of memory. Space is one of the strongest triggers in this case. Space, in which remembered event was placed, is always a part of its memory.

Architecture has a lot to do with identity. Space, built environment forms a framework for memories. The symbolic value of the place – belonging is being formed as one stays in a certain environment for some time. Material objects from our environment can erect meanings; create a framework for our identity. Place memory, as a combination of remembered events in certain environment, is being formed over the time, spent in this place⁵⁶.

In this way, we can conclude, that built environment works as a memory container, identity and belonging framework. Targeting architecture during siege can be perceived as targeting memory, or, talking about the city, collective memory.

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Lebbeus Woods, "BEYOND MEMORY | LEBBEUS WOODS," lebbeuswoods.wordpress.com

51

Lebbeus Woods, "BEYOND MEMORY | LEBBEUS WOODS,"

52

AA School of Architecture, Adrian Forty - The Art of Forgetting, AA Lecture, 1998

53

AA School of Architecture, 1998

54

AA School of Architecture, 1998

55

Aida Hoteit, "War Against Architecture, Identity and Collective Memory,"

56

Aida Hoteit

▲ Figure 39 (Chapter cover)

The Monument Against Fascism, 1986. Esther Shalev-Gez and Jochen Gez

MEMORIALS HISTORY

57

Simon Bovet,
“Memory’ without
‘Memory’” 21, no. 22

Figure 40 ►

Warriors’ Mausoleum (1981) in Popina, Serbia. Photo: Arna Mackic

Talking about post-war collective trauma, it is important to understand the role of architecture in it. As mentioned in previous part, built environment has an important place in memory mechanisms, collective memory in particular. But what does violence against architecture mean for collective memory?

It has a lot to do with a homeland concept, as mass war destruction is often perceived with the loss of home, identity and belonging. Enemy is easier to defeat, when his identity was destroyed, historic background vanished. This is well-known and being widely used, especially in modern conflicts (see Chapter1 Warchitecture).

While in Roman times, names on memorials belonged to emperors and were to emphasize the glory and victory, remembering of dead soldiers by putting their names on memorial is relatively new idea. Modern concept of remembering soldiers first appeared in Franko-Prussian war, where soldiers were given burial and memorized with names. This was done to give a special meaning for warriors sacrifice, as religion was getting weaker in convincing people with after-life promises. Patriotic nature of war was emphasized through memorial ceremonies and monuments, giving people an idea that giving a life for their country is worthy, as they will be remembered as heroes. Governments were also moving away from the influence of Church, therefore, new perspective of history writing was needed.

Growing numbers of memorial monuments in post-Revolution France, formed the base for its identity, personification of glory and patriotism by using Marianne image is well described in “Monumentomania” by Maurice Agulhon. War cemeteries also became important feature in making sacrifice for the country a highest goal in public’s beliefs.⁵⁷

Mass graves and Tombs of Unknown Soldier places near them, became a focus point for everyone, whose relative was not found or identified, but also became collective mourning places. “Unknown Soldier” became a brand, portraying an image of national hero, extracting army above everyday life, lifting fallen soldier over the ordinary existence.





20th century modern movement started questioning memorial architecture that existed before. In a new vision, memorial must be universal, detached from visual symbolism of its present. So universalisation and unification of the time influenced memorial architecture as well. In modernist Manifest for Monumentality, "Nine points on Monumentality"⁵⁸, new means of expression, inter-disciplinary cooperation and attention to space are mentioned as guides for monument of a new kind.

58

S. Leger, F.; Sert, J. L.; Giedion, "Nine Points on Monumentality," 1943.

59

Arna Mackic, "Mortal Cities and Forgotten Monuments - Failed Architecture."

A good example of this approach can be boom of WW2 monuments in former Yugoslavia. In the period of 1960-1980, over 100 Second World War memorials were built around the country. Universal character, absence of any ethnical or religious references was a part of a unification program, the will to emphasize similarities and solidarity in multi-cultural country. Welding all nations in Yugoslavia was a key goal of its new regime, so distribution of equally universal memorials around the country had a strategic propaganda goal. Memorial structures, usually put outside cities, were not talking about past, neither present, but about future or even eternity.

Placed in natural surroundings, dedicated to places of great battles, memorials were planned to become public spaces. Every excursion to one of them, was a trip, almost hiking tour with the monument opening surrounding scenery as a final destination.

Thanks to their locations, monuments were not destroyed during Yugoslavia Civil war. However, their image has changed. They were not part of propaganda anymore but rather reminders of regime. No surprise that some of structures were dynamited as unwanted symbols of Yugoslavia, others remain in very poor condition. Despite their exceptional artistic value, structures became forgotten and often neglected.

"They represent both utopia (for many, former Yugoslavia is a utopia: a time when everything was better) and dystopia (the civil war of the 1990s and the collapse of Yugoslavia).⁵⁹"

WW2 memorials in
former Yugoslavia.
Photos from the
book: Mortal Cities
and Forgotten
Monuments. Arna
Mackic, Rosa Te
Velde, 2016





MEMORIALS TODAY

60

AA School of Architecture, Adrian Forty - The Art of Forgetting, AA Lecture.

61

Jonathan Jones, "War Memorials Have Failed – We Have Forgotten the Chaos of Fascism" | Jonathan Jones | Art and Design | The Guardian,

Figure 41 ►

The Monument Against Fascism, 1986. Esther Shalev-Gerz and Jochen Gerz

Figure 42 ►

The Monument Against Fascism, 1986. Esther Shalev-Gerz and Jochen Gerz

There were many discussions about memory preserved though an object – memorial. One of the biggest cases during last decades is Holocaust. As French Jewish artist Christian Boltanski replied when asked to make such memorial (and declined this proposition), "if he would want to do it he would have to create memorial every day"⁶⁰. His answer supports an idea that only by re-creating the memory it can be preserved. Temporary memorials are exploring this in a creative way. For instance, "The monument against Fascism" made by Jochen Gerz in 1986 in Hamburg, which was a metal column, slowly sinking down into the soil. Locals and tourists were encouraged to write on the soft metal of column with a special pen provided. While moving down, new writing area was coming and previous signs disappearing. In the end, only top plane of the column was visible, sank to the ground level, and a memory sign next to it. Memorial was gone, together with everything written on it during 7 years. On a memorial info sign it is said "One day it will have disappeared completely, and the site of the Hamburg monument against fascism will be empty. In the end it is only we ourselves who can rise up against injustice."

Temporary memorials, planned or simultaneous, are questioning eternal nature of classic memorials and memorial museums, and, accordingly, the concept of memory, that can be impersonated in a physical object forever. On the other hand, ephemeral memorials are also forcing us to reconsider the responsibility and lifetime of such physical representations of past event.

Analysing memorials and memorial architecture, one cannot not notice that they often have tendency for "tidying-up" the horrifying truth of events they commemorate; only making a framework for moderate mourning that would not hurt mourners much. It is not only bitter truth about past events, but also historic ignorance of modern society has to be hidden. It becomes most visible in the popular memorial museums, where visitor's behaviour seems to be disconnected to subject, almost opposing it. Fighting it,

memorial museums are putting much effort keeping "proper atmosphere" in such places. However, if the atmosphere for the mourning has to be guided so much and memorials need anti-vandal surveillance, how can we talk about true value of such mourning? In case of aforementioned memorial in Hamburg, there was no attempt to control things written in any way, people were completely free to express their thought about Fascism, Holocaust or whatever. This goes in contrary with many contemporary memorials that are expected to be clean and looked after. For example, Peter Eisenman's "Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe". It's well-known pillars that create a labyrinth landscape are being covered with chemicals to prevent any spray painting on regular basis.

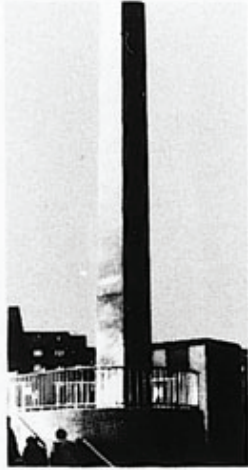
During last decade there was an international boom of competitions for Memorial museums in Europe. Many of them commemorate events from not so recent past: WW2, Holocaust, etc. Yet, despite all the memorials built, Europe now is more closed and aware of foreigners than ever since WW2, far-right popularity is rising each year, overall violence seems not to be decreasing, many armed conflicts, including ethnic ones are happening. Here comes the question: do memorials carry out their mission? Do memorial museums fight historic ignorance to make us better society, well aware of consequences of mistakes from the past?

As Jonathan Jones stated, thinking about the reasons why memorials do not work anymore:

"Could it be that artists like Eisenman are too modern or abstract to communicate with the public? Perhaps, but you can hardly say the same of films such as Schindler's List or The Pianist. Since the 90s, a sustained and diverse effort on every front from sculpture to children's books has put the memory of the Holocaust at the forefront of modern culture."⁶¹

Author argues that despite all the importance of memorials, movies and remembrance days, they cannot themselves form a mass memory, only in complex





10. Oktober 1986
Einweihung



1. September 1987
1. Absenkung



23. Oktober 1988
2. Absenkung



6. September 1989
3. Absenkung



22. Februar 1990
4. Absenkung

Wir laden die Bürger von Harburg und die Besucher der Stadt ein, ihren Namen hier unseren eigenen anzufügen. Es soll uns verpflichten, wachsam zu sein und zu bleiben. Je mehr Unterschriften der zwölf Meter hohe Stab aus Blei trägt, um so mehr von ihm wird in den Boden eingelassen. Solange, bis er nach unbestimmter Zeit restlos versenkt und die Stelle des Harburger Mahnmals gegen Faschismus leer sein wird.

Denn nichts kann auf Dauer an unserer Stelle sich gegen das Unrecht erheben.

Harburg'lu Türk hemşerilerimizi ve bu şehrin Türk ziyaretçilerinin isimlerini bizim isimlerimize ilave etmeye çağırıyoruz. Bu bizleri her an uyanık bulunmaya mecbur etsin. 12 metre boyundaki kurşun levhanın üzerinde ne kadar çok imza olursa, onun yere gömülecek kısmı da o kadar uzun olacaktır. Günün birinde o tamamen yere gömülüp kaybolacak ve Harburg'un faşizme karşı uyarma anıtının yeri boş kalacaktır.

Zira, uzun sürede hiçbir şey haksızlığa karşı çıkmada bizim yerimizi alamaz.

We invite the citizens of Harburg, and visitors to the town, to add their names here to ours. In doing so we commit ourselves to remain vigilant. As more and more names cover this 12 metre tall lead column, it will gradually be lowered into the ground. One day it will have disappeared completely, and the site of the Harburg monument against fascism will be empty.

In the end it is only we ourselves who can rise up against injustice.

Nous invitons les bourgeois et les visiteurs à joindre ici leurs noms. Cela pour nous engager à rester vigilants et à le demeurer. Plus de signatures sur la barre de plomb haute de douze mètres, plus elle sera enfouie dans le sol. Et un jour, il n'y aura plus de monument et l'emplacement rappèlant l'Harburg sera vide désormais.

Car à la longue, n'importe qui peut venir à notre place.

Harburgs Mahnmal gegen Faschismus, Krieg, Gewalt – für Frieden und Menschenrechte wurde nach einstimmigem Beschluß der



4. Dezember 1990
5. Absenkung



27. September 1991
6. Absenkung



27. November 1992
7. Absenkung

10. November 1993
letzte Absenkung

citoyens de Har-
urs de cette ville à
oms aux nôtres.
ngager à être vigi-
urer. Plus les sig-
mbreuses sur cette
aute de douze
'enfonce dans le
disparaîtra entière-
ment de ce monu-
orreur du facisme
ais.

ul ne pourra s'éle-
contre l'injustice.

אנדרטה נגד פשיזם
אנו מזמינים את תושבי הרבורג
ומבקרי העיר להוסיף שמם
לשמנו. בעשותנו זאת אנו
מתחייבים להשאר על המשמר.
כמה שיותר שמות יכסו את
עמוד העופרת בן 12 מטרים,
הוא יורד לאיטו לתוך האדמה.
יום אחד הוא יעלם לחלוטין
ורחבת האנדרטה נגד פשיזם
תהייה ריקה.

שהרי רק אנו עצמנו יכולים לקום
נגד איצדק.

Мы приглашаем жителей
и гостей города Гарбурга
присоединять свои имена
к нашим, что обязывает
нас не только быть, но и
остаться бдительными.
Чем больше подписей
будет написано на 12-ме-
тровом свинцовом пруте,
тем глубже тот будет ухо-
дить в землю. Это будет
продолжаться до тех пор,
пока по истечению вре-
мени весь памятник не
исчезнет бесследно.

Ведь в конечном итоге
ничто и нико кроме нас
не может бороться с нес-
праведливостью.

نحن ننادي المواطنين بهار
بورج وزوار المدينة بإضافة أسمهم
هنا إلى أسمائنا. فإن ذلك يلزمنا
بأن نكون ونظل يقظين. فكلما زادت
التوقيعات التي يحملها الصاري من
الرصاص وارتفاعه ١٢ مترا، فسوف
يزداد الجزء الذي يغرس منه في
الأرض. إلى أن يتواري تماما بعد
وقت غير محدد ويصبح موقع
نصب هاربورج التذكاري ضد
الفاشية خاليا تماما.

فلن يستطيع شيء على الدوام أن
يقوم بدلا عنا بمناهضة الظلم.

Bezirksversammlung Harburg im Auftrag der Kulturbehörde Hamburg nach dem Konzept von Esther und Jochen Gerz realisiert.



with good historical education. On the other hand, recent conflicts, as well as WW2, are often mystified and portrayed in a twisted way, even before they are finished, for example, image of Nazi Germany “as democracy’s “other”, a totalitarian system that rigidly controlled a helpless population⁶²”.

Such interpretations are hiding the truth, therefore do not allow people to learn a historic lesson of reasons and consequences. Portraying wars as a top-down initiative, reducing responsibility of a person, not only “evil government” may lead to wrong conclusions, such as “it can never happen again, or at least not in my country”. Totalitarian stereotypes work against the preventing memorial idea. Blaming the system, we cut associations that can and must appear: It can happen everywhere and depends on each other’s conscious decision.

“The monolithic bleakness of Eisenman’s Berlin memorial implies an inaccurate vision of nazism. He makes the Holocaust look like a state bureaucrat’s calculus of death. It was worse. It was a chaos of hatred, bigotry and unreason. When unleashed in a modern technological society, these demonic passions can quickly create a hell on earth. We would be utter fools to think it can’t happen again, or that the world will never have any more reason to build memorials.⁶³”

Remembrance Day happenings can also be have a sin of abstractization of war. For instance, well-known installation Blood Swept Lands and Seas of Red by Paul Cummins, made in commemoration of WW1 at The Tower of London in 2015, was criticized for aestheticizing war and making hype around such sensitive topic. 888,246 ceramic poppy flowers were installed to represent lives lost in a conflict. Exhibition had a tour around the country, attracting millions of viewers; flowers were later available for buying priced 25£ each. “...the installation at the Tower is spuriously beautiful: it allows us to mourn without seeing anything to cause visceral distress.⁶⁴” – sums up Jonathan Johnes.

Thinking about impact of memorialization, I recall a documentary made by Ukrainian director Sergiy Loznitsa about “Austerlitz” museum visitors. Observing people coming to see a place build specifically to turn people into ashes, author is asking: what behaviour is considered to be appropriate for this place? Are visitors acting like mourners or as classic tourists? What does it tell us about memory and collective trauma? “Holocaust tourism” has been actively discussed recently. Smiling selfies in front of horrifying exhibition materials and inappropriate behaviour has been condemned. Author of the documentary made an observation and let the viewer make conclusions. In a black and white 90 minute movie, picturing people wandering around, chatting, making selfies, looking tired and obviously bored. Therefore there is a question risen: what is the educational and memorial value of visiting Nazi labour camp in between of visiting art museum and shopping mall.

Another aspect of memorialization which is rarely taken into consideration are spontaneous memorials, small and often DIY reminders made by local community or individually. Quite often, there physical representations of grief and mourning are the most honest ones. The reason for that might lie in fact that these small memorials are telling personal stories of those whose lives were lost or taken. They are rarely talking about patriotism and sacrifice, but always about the loss of a person’s life as a biggest tragedy.

Analysing history of memorialization and modern memorials and memorial museums in particular, I came to conclusion that memorials that are believed to be successful in delivering their message, are the ones that allow an interaction, provide different possible scenarios, leave room for accidental act to happen. In a certain way, there are combination of two above-described forms: designed and spontaneous. An example of this approach could have been Jewish holocaust memorial in Berlin, designed by Peter Eisenman. Its main idea is interaction and free interpretation allowed for visitors. However, as it was mentioned before, it’s anti-vandal policy together with acceptable behaviour rules, is going in opposition with openness declared.

Another example is The Vietnam Veterans Memorial by Maya Lin, built in 1982, which is integrated into the hill, hidden, almost invisible from the distance. When coming closer, it opens up as a crack, finished with black stone with the names of US soldiers dead in Vietnam war. The monument was widely discussed and public opinion was divided: some called it a political statement about shameful war; the others, in contrary, saw an open conversation, opportunity for mourning about loss, which was not encouraged before. An important fact, names on the wall are put in chronological order of death, which allows to group people died at the same time and, probably, together. There was also a tradition to leave flowers, photos and personal belongings in front of names, which gave memorial much more personified character.

Memorial near Beirut, also known as “tank memorial” is officially called “Hope for Peace”. Consisting of Soviet tanks sandwiched into a concrete pyramid 30 meters height. Built almost 20 years ago, it is still probably the most grotesque war memorial existing. While authors explanation compares guns and tanks frozen in concrete to represent their own temporarity and fossils, it gives unavoidable impression of a war pyramid, a memorial to weapons, pure opposition to hope for peace.

62

Jonathan Jones,
“War Memorials
Have Failed – We
Have Forgotten the
Chaos of Fascism
| Jonathan Jones
| Art and Design |
The Guardian,”

63

Jonathan Jones

64

Jonathan Jones

◀ Figure 43, 44

Screen shot from
“Austerlitz” by
Sergiy Loznitsa



Figure 45 ◀

A visitor walks through Peter Eisenman's snow-covered Holocaust memorial in Berlin. Photo: Kay Nietfeld/EPA

Figure 46 ▶

Tank Monument to Peace Commemorating the End of the 1975-1990 Civil War, Lebanon.

House Rules, Berlin Holocaust Memorial

IT IS FORBIDDEN TO:

make noise or shout, play musical instruments or use radio or recording devices, including those with headphones;
 camp in the Stelea Field, climb upon the stelea, jump from stelea, or sun oneself upon the stelea;
 walk your dog amongst the stelea;
 ride your bike or skateboard or wear roller blades or skates;
 bring any kind of motor vehicle into the stelea;
 smoke, consume alcohol or barbeque;
 befoul the Stelea Field in any way.



WHO OWNS MEMORY?

65

Nikita Kadan, "The Chronicle", 2016, nikitakadan.com/the-chronicle/xron-ikathe-chronicle/

Figure 47 ►

The Chronicle, Nikita Kadan, 2016

Figure 48 ▼

The Chronicle, Nikita Kadan, 2016

For the state-driven memorialization, sanctioned war memorials are always a political statement. Which is most visible in ethnic conflicts, when after the conflict is over, fighting communities continue to live together. In this case, state has a difficult task to work through the loss of both sides equally and from the most objective point of view, transferring facts into history with least "clearing" or favouring. Which stories should be remembered and which –forgotten?

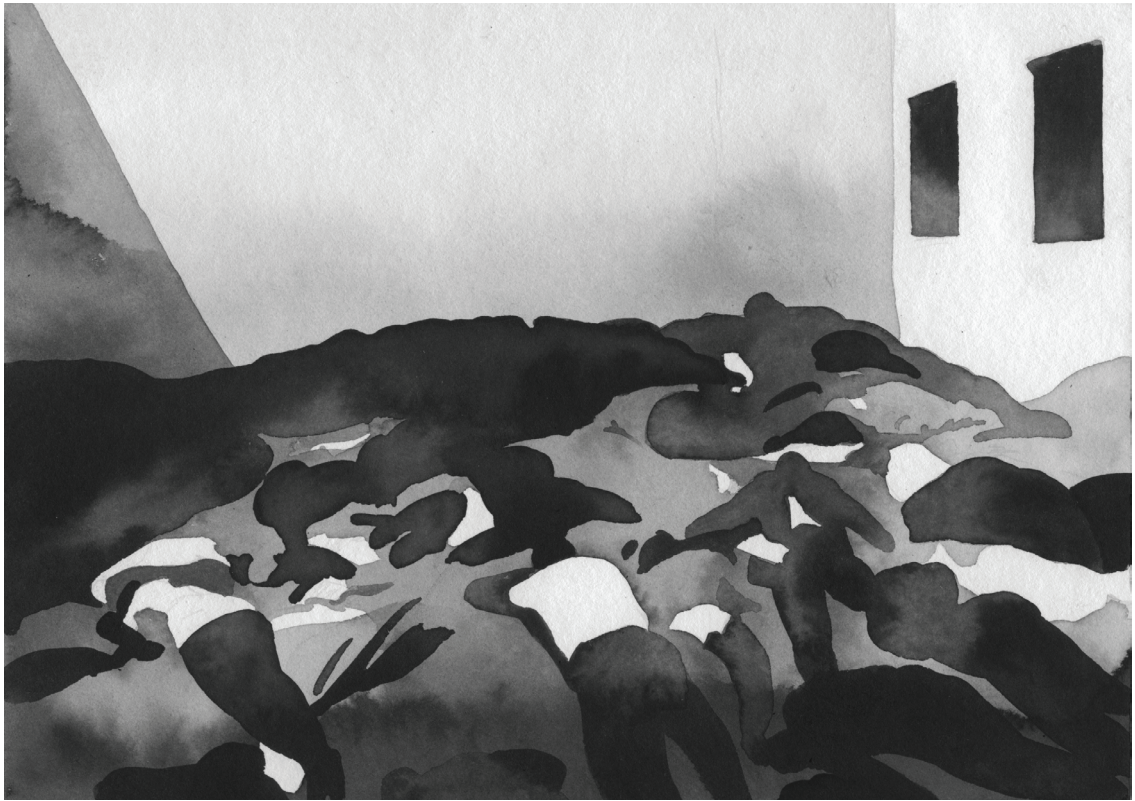
With memorial architecture, monuments and actions, provided by government, viewer can easily forget, who was actually ordering this commemoration. How this memory was adjusted to fit current ideology or political strategies.

The Chronicle

Project of Ukrainian artist Nikita Kadan is dedicated to collective memory and top-down memorialization. On small watercolour drawings he pictures in naïve simple way executed bodies, cut out from the context. In project description it is said, that pictures were re-drawn by artist from original photos picture: victims of Lviv pogrom of the Jewish community, Polish and Ukrainian victims of the Volhynia massacre, victims of NKVD, and civilians and prisoners of war murdered under Nazi occupation. These events due to lack of proper investigation and discussion, still cause tensions in modern society, as the collective memories constructed by opposing sides, confront. Accordingly, archive materials can and often used for hiding facts.⁶⁵

In the series of drawings, author, excluding the context and not providing description under each one, is interpreting well-known method of historic photography manipulation: when photo of executed people taken to a different context, another executor listed, even place can be changed. By doing so, Kadan shows very clearly, how false memory can easily be created, and how helpless we are in identifying the historic truth. "The struggle for memory morphs into competition to generate an ideologised imitation of memory." This work is talking about the history that should be perceived directly, without cleansing and beautifying curation on ideology. It is also about universality of loss, executed are executed, no matter from which of confronting sides a person was; violent death is the biggest tragedy of all.







Architect of Memory

German artist Anselm Kiefer, born in 1945, shortly before WW2 ended, in almost destroyed during the war Donaueschingen, already in his first known work was criticising memorialization approach in post-Nazi Germany. It was a series of self-portraits of the young artist, wearing his father's military form and making the Nazi salute. In contrast to many artists of his time, he decided to confront his country's Nazi past directly.

While being criticized, this work was a brave attempt to point out on the post-war German society problem: lack of collective responsibility for what has happened and strict censorship of the topic itself. Since then, he keeps working on history, destruction, temporality, but most of all, memory.

Art critic Robert Hughes once portrayed the work of Kiefer as a crossroads of two questions: "What can I remember?" and "What should I remember?".

In a documentary "Over your cities grass will grow"⁶⁶ Sophie Fiennes captures large-scale long lasting landscape project in Southern France. Name of documentary comes from the quote from Bible, which

Kiefer used to describe his views, talking about unavoidable death of everything. Although, in Kiefers work focus is on violent decay. Installations have architectural character, author is working with space and it's perception to evoke memories and associations. Each piece of artwork, in most cases, painting and/or sculpture, he put in its own space, its own specifically created context. Bunker-like dig-outs, tube-tunnels leading nowhere, abandoned spaces, broken glass, concrete towers-ruins and nature paintings covered with thick layer of dust – artist brings nightmares of the past into apocalyptic warning for tomorrow.

The whole "studio" is giving a feeling of declined ancient civilization, which was waiting to be discovered. Artists work with physical surroundings is extraordinary, he is constructing de-constructed for purpose of artistic message. He is opposing landscape drawings with the actual landscape, built in dystopia manner, talking about fragility of environment.

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Sophie Fiennes,
Over Your Cities
Grass Will Grow,
2010.

Figure 49 ◀

Screen-shot from
"Over Your Cities
Grass Will Grow"
(2010), showing
Anselm Kiefer's
project Barjak.

Figure 50 ▼

Anselm Kiefer,
Sternenfall/
Shevirath Ha
Kelim (Falling Stars/
Destruction of
the Vessels), 2007.
Photo: Raphaël
Labbé.



Memorial in Exile

Figure 51 ▼

The ArcelorMittal Orbit stands next to the Olympic Stadium in the London 2012 Olympic Park in east London May 11, 2012. Author: Anish Kapoor. Photo: REUTERS/Ki Price

Another example of reflection on how memorialization is working nowadays is a “Memorial in Exile”, extraordinary chain of events discovering how interconnected we are, and that commemoration must be organized in time and with respect.

In July 2012, just before London Olympic Games started, survivors of Omarska concentration camp, claimed the ArcelorMittal Orbit tower, located in the Olympic Park, the ‘Omarska Memorial in Exile’. The connection between the concentration camp and an Olympic mega-structure is not obvious, although quite ironic.

Omarska concentration camp was organised by Bosnian Serb forces, in a mining city of Omarska, Northern Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992. Mining complex itself was used as a camp. As a result of horrible conditions, torture, executions and no ill treatments, hundreds of people have died, exact number is still unknown. Discovery of international journalist of the camp was one on main reasons for UN to investigate war crimes committed during the conflict.

Despite these well-know facts, in 2004 the mine was bought by the world’s bigger metal provider, Indian company ArcelorMittal , to run the mine again. Mine site was closed for visitors. In December 2005 it was announced, that the company will build a memorial dedicated to concentration camp in one of its build-

ings, but the project was cancelled. While debates around memorial continued, arguing, should it take over the whole mine or a building used for torture, mine was already working. ArcelorMittal was blaming local authorities for not taking decision, the Republika Srpska authorities claimed that memorial might prevent reconciliation.

Making a demonstration in 2012 next to London’s Orbit, calling for renaming it “Omarska Memorial in Exile”, concentration camp survivors and relatives of executed, along with British activists, are calling for attention to memorialization that didn’t happen, in opposite to business, flourishing the ground, resources and buildings of concentration camp.

This story is particularly interesting for memorialisation conversation, as the ephemeral memorial, which was demanded, but never happened in place of violence, was transferred across the sea and reached iconic structure on another country, ironically showing interdependence of processes in modern world. It also says a lot about memory making, as well as memory vanishing and role of politics and business in it.





Stumbling stone

With memorial architecture, monuments and actions, provided by government, viewer can easily forget, who was actually ordering this commemoration. How this memory was adjusted to fit current ideology or political strategies. Thus, a better strategy for memorialization, if there is such will, is participation of individuals connected to events from the both sides. Personal stories can help deeper understanding and form more wide view on history to be memorized in public. Individuals can become a subject of memorialization.⁶⁷

For example, memory about Holocaust in Germany, made always present and hyper visible, has been vanished in sense of its initial meaning⁶⁸. In a contrary, Stolpersteine (Stumbling Stone) project, for example, is using personal memories approach, and is not specifically memorial-located. It consists of concrete cubes bearing a brass plate, installed into paving. The text on the stone is giving a short but very specific and personal story of one person, who suffered from Holocaust. "Here lived Marion Ehrlich. Born in 1928, deported on November 29, 1942. Murdered in Auschwitz." – says one of the stones. Author, German artist Gunter Demnig initiated his project in 1992, the idea was to commemorate victims precisely in where there used to live. For now, stones were placed in as much as 22 counties, which makes it the biggest decentralised monument of existing. Each of the stones

is made by hands, financing is organized throw private donations. By 2013 there were 32, 000 stones placed in 700 locations .

The crucial idea of these installations is that they are place-specific. It carries a deep meaning on many layers. First, no to detach people from their original habitat, as Nazi regime did. It shows that they had normal lives before it happened. And the last but not least, it gives connection to present, as you don't have to intentionally visit memorial museum to get to know, that someone from your neighbourhood was executed in the concentration camp.

Another important thing that makes Stolpersteine so different from governmental memorials, is that it commemorates all categories of Nazi victims. As most of the stones telling about Jews, there are also some dedicated to Romani and Sinti people, homosexuals and disabled, black people, anti-Nazi activists, members of Communist Party, escape helpers and capitulators. It has no politic of ethnic preferences.

It also references to the fact, that back in the days, Jewish Cemeteries destroyed by Nazis and grave-stones were re-used for sidewalk pavement.

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Matthew Cook and Micheline van Riemsdijk, "Agents of Memorialization: Gunter Demnig's Stolpersteine and the Individual (Re-) Creation of a Holocaust Landscape in Berlin," *Journal of Historical Geography* 43

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Cook and van Riemsdijk.

Figure 52 ▲

Guided Tour Praha in front of Stolpersteine for Eduard Böhm and Hermína Böhmová. Photo: Christian Michelides

Figure 53, 54 ►►

Stolpersteine, Photo: Aeggy.



HIER WOHNTE

ALFRED PFINGST

JG. 1889

DEPORTIERT

AUSCHWITZ

ERMORDET 31.10.1944



HIER WOHNTE

FRIEDA PFINGST

GEB. LOEWENSTEIN

JG. 1893

DEPORTIERT

AUSCHWITZ

ERMORDET 31.10.1944

RADICAL RECONSTRUCTION

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Lebbeus Woods, "THE REALITY OF THEORY | LEBBEUS WOODS".

70

Lebbeus Woods, "THE REALITY OF THEORY | LEBBEUS WOODS."

71

Lebbeus Woods, "WAR AND ARCHITECTURE: The Sarajevo Window | LEBBEUS WOODS".

72

Woods

Figure 55 ▼

Damaged Elektroprivreda Building under siege in 1993. Photo: Lebbeus Woods.

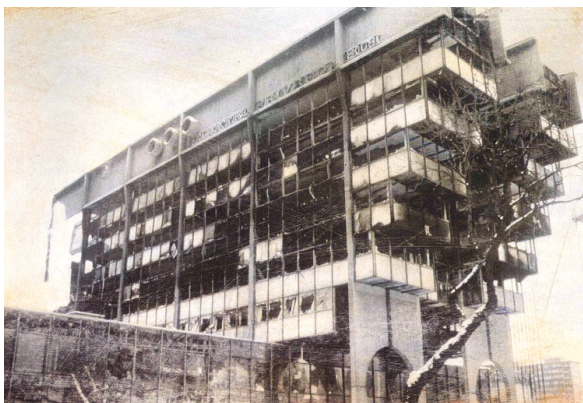
Figure 56 ▼

Reconstruction Design by Lebbeus Woods in 1994. Computer rendering by Carlos Fueyo, 2004.

Known as the longest siege in modern history, Siege of Sarajevo was carried out by Serbian forces of Republika Srpska and Yugoslav People's Army (later – Army of Serbia and Montenegro) and continued from 5th of April 1992 till 29th of February 1996.

In November 1993 Lebbeus Woods, American architect and artist, known for his experimental projects, started his project addressing destruction in the city. Invited as a journalist, he already had theoretic work about experimental post-war reconstruction, "War and Architecture" (Pamphlet Architecture 15), printed. It was talking about war-damaged environments and an alternative approach to reconstruction. In Sarajevo he had a chance to test his theories. He was taking part in wide discussion about how architects should deal with the results of conflict's mass destruction. In the end, he was asked to make a reconstruction project for Electrical Management Building. It was one of the cities' architectural landmarks, designed by famous Yugoslavian architect, Ivan Straus.

As all the other important buildings for Sarajevo's identity, it was under intense artillery fire and heavily destroyed. Along this project, Lebbeus Woods also developed and tried on site some physical prototypes of what he called "SCAR constructions".



His approach towards restoration process was to accept the irreversibility of war, that already happened. 4 years siege has changed the country, city and society so drastically, that it wouldn't be possible to restore it to before-war condition, even if it would have been done with built environment.⁶⁹

The idea was to create new kinds of spaces out of city wounds. Not to celebrate destruction and loss, neither ignore it, but accept it and move forward with it. Woods was arguing with "peace" façade logic in cities of conflict, insisting on deeper understanding of trauma caused by war. Talking about "new spaces", he proposes to leave them with non-determined function, let people fill them with new, "post war" needs. He also made an estimated proportion 90% to 10% for restored in traditional way and "free spaces" accordingly⁷⁰.

As siege in Sarajevo was ongoing still, Woods he was also discovering living under siege in real time, everyday life of people in damaged buildings. He pointed out, that trying to increase their living conditions and safety in the city, constantly being under artillery and snipers fire, locals were constructing handmade protection walls on the streets or covering holes in their houses. These structures, often made of rubbish, were taking part in degradation of the city.

"To survive, and to frustrate the enemies of their refined culture, people need a sense of order in their world, one that is consciously created, or designed."⁷¹

As a proof, it was also noticed, that citizens were always dressed up like in the peaceful times, despite terrible living conditions. Observing this reaction and silent respond to the conflict, Lebbeus Woods wanted to make repairing, which will not only serve as protection of rain and cold, but also would reflect this strengths and dignity with which Sarajevans were facing their situation. Woods most of all wanted to avoid "junk sculpture" feeling, using available materials he still aimed to create a new character of buildings, that locals could be proud about.⁷²

In this way, radical restoration may reflect those radical changes that every city under siege is facing. Among particular projects in Sarajevo, Lebbeus Woods also developed a theory that leads to tree





principles about post war restoration. First one is to restore damaged to its previous condition. Second, replace damaged with completely new, often the opposite to pre-war building environment.

These first two principles are classic and are widely used in post-war cities. Replacing principle is often being criticized for its “erasure” effect, meaning vanishing part of history by dismissing heritage lost during the war. At the same time, first principle of restoration leads to very similar effect. It is not vanishing build heritage in a literal way, but ignores the conflict that already changed the place on many levels besides architecture, that bringing visible surroundings to their pre-war shape will be perceived as decorative solution. However, these two concepts satisfy the most common desire of post-conflict inhabitants: going back to peaceful life.

“The SCAR constructions don’t celebrate violence, destruction and death, but rather the creative healing of the wounds they have caused.”⁷³

Lebbeus Woods

Lebbeus Woods proposes the third principle: creating the new form from destructed old. As the “old”,

pre-war life is gone, reconstruction must be a tool of creating new forms of living. War scars must be transformed into a new city identity, be a symbol of overcoming past without denying it. New free spaces created out of voids caused by siege can transform people’s experience of destruction into new social features.⁷⁴

Even though, restoration project for Electric Management Building have never been realized, it was an important case study and a conversation about what post-war reconstruction can be; what is the role of architecture in conflict cities and how to work through violent deconstruction aftermath. This work definitely contributes to the discourse of War and Architecture and gives a lot of new questions to think about.

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Woods, “BEYOND MEMORY | LEBBEUS WOODS.”

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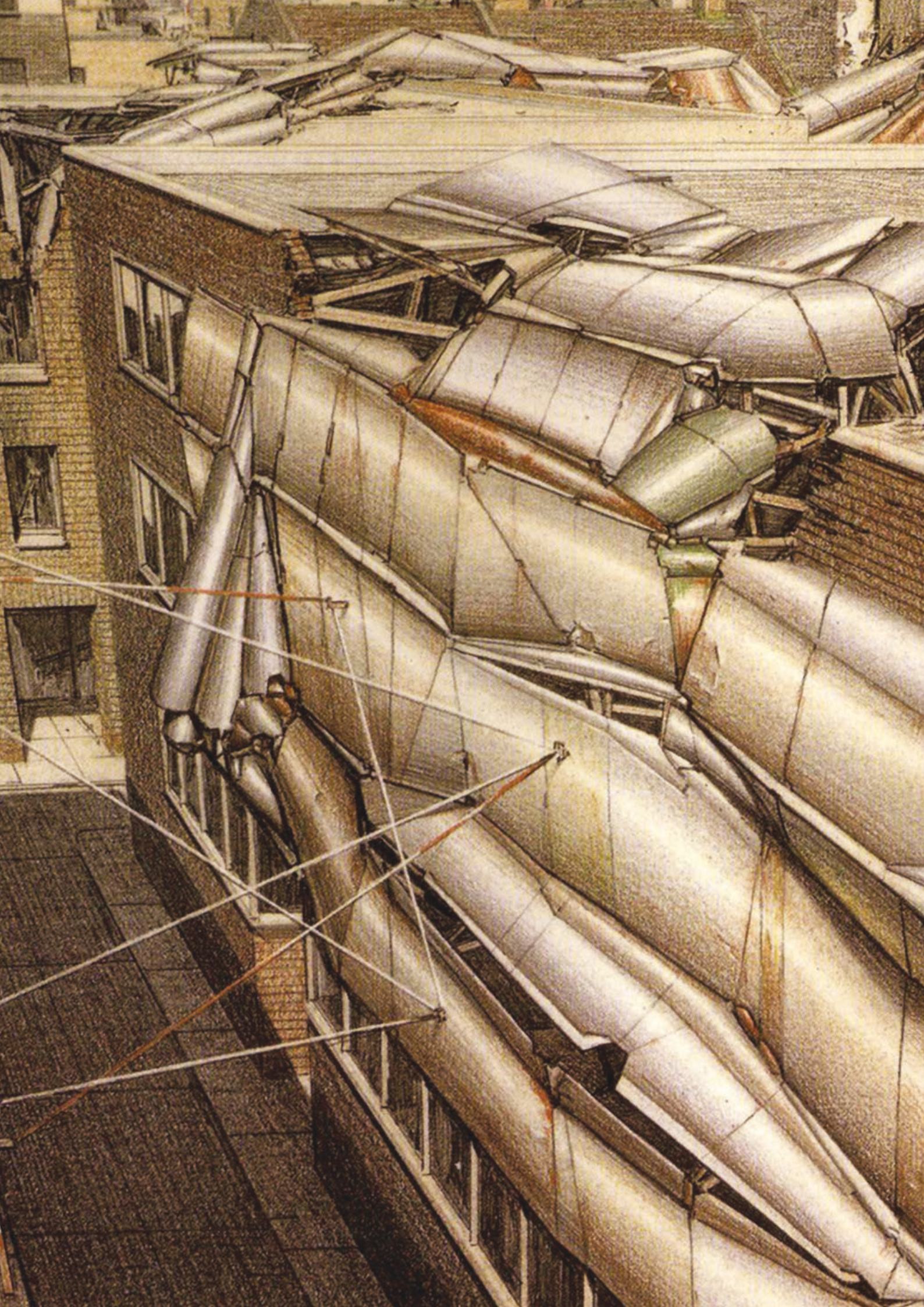
Woods, War and Architecture = Rat i Arhitektura.

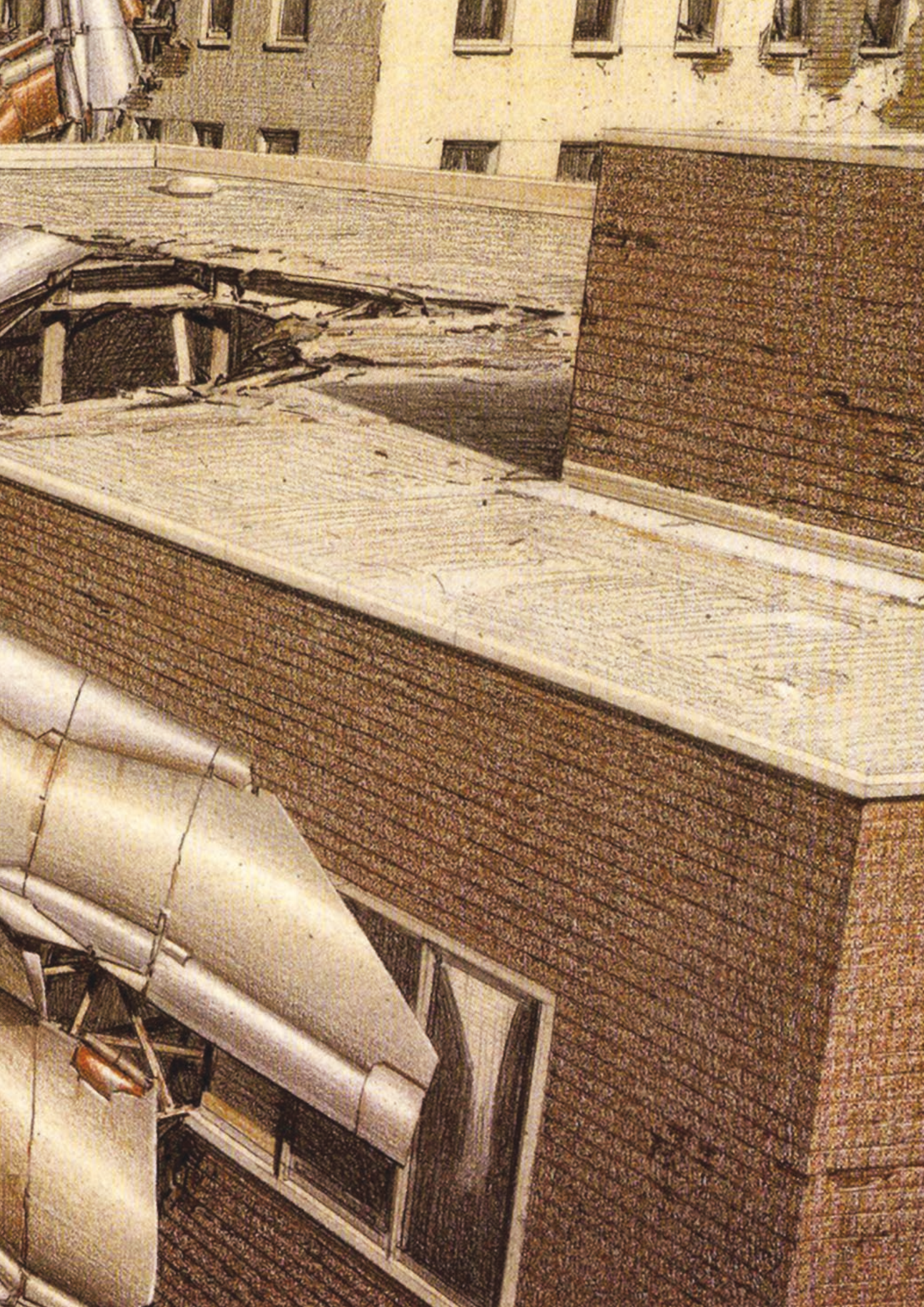
Figure 57 ▲

Physical model for reconstruction. Apartment blocks, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1993. Lebbeus Woods

Figure 58 ►►

Lebbeus Woods, radical reconstruction. Woods, War and Architecture = Rat i Arhitektura.





Architecture is a container of collective memory, once it is destroyed, connection to the continuity of history is in danger. As interpreting violent events in physical environment they affected is still a great challenge for cities in conflict, commemoration is mostly implemented in specifically created physical representations - memorials. Meaning of memorials, their message and approach to commemorating has been a long discussion, and these days it is especially actual.

After analysing big number of contemporary war memorials, as well as critical materials, one can come to conclusion that objectivity of memorial (if it is aimed) can be only reached with smaller scale personal stories, careful investigation of story and context. Artistic abstractisation of tragedy may vanish its importance, large institutional memorials generalize loss for political purpose. Repetitive actions, such as Remembrance Day, are proven to be effective in supporting historic memory better than physical memorial itself. However, and temporary memorials are taking this as a core, no memorial cannot prevent forgetting and historic ignorance if there is no good historic education.

In post-conflict cities, restoration of ruined heritage and other built environment is a crucial aspect in collective trauma healing and creating a collective memory, that will last long after events witnesses. Being in charge of reconstruction and replacing of violently destroyed cities, architects are also responsible for the memory aspect. In aftermath of conflict, it is natural to desire vanishing unpleasant memories, by replacing destroyed city by something completely new, without looking back on the context. However, post-trauma healing requires "going through" tragedy, analysing, understanding, accepting and learning from it. Thus, city destroyed by conflict, must be treated as a memories scenery, as a main factor of belonging to place, that has once changed forever. Lebbeus Woods and his concept of radical reconstructions appears as an attempt to work with conflicts memory in troubled city.



SPACE AND VIOLENCE

As contemporary war becomes urbanized and weapons efficiency in destruction is growing every year, architecture becomes a main target in siege for cultural identity and ethnic domination. Thus, architect as an intellectual, thinker, spatial specialist and, foremost, creator of the main war target, can and should contribute to analysing, interpreting and fighting violent war destruction. Only deep understanding of war destruction can help solving architectural (as well as many others) challenges that it is constantly creating.

For a long time, destruction was seen as anti-cultural, anti-civilizational, barbarian phenomena. However, there was not a single civilization in humans history without a war. War architecture, as a definition of planned targeted attack on architecture, is bringing destruction to the architectural discourse. It is questioning the "normal" condition of architecture, where no violent destruction ever happens. Destruction appears as a physical visualization of political decisions, that often works as a communication tool between opposing sides and even is able to define heritage, by putting architecture as target.

Depicting war destruction in media has become an important part of its conceptual perception. Due to technology growth, mass destruction is in broadcast online from any angle possible. Although, overwhelming amount of information about war violence does not necessarily provide objective view and understanding. Top-down nature of official media materials tend to vanish horror and real damage of war, turning it into abstract dystopia landscape with no context. On a contrary, personal stories of conflict participants, expressed in any form, can provide humanistic perspective and connection to the loss of "other". Architects can also contribute to destruction perception as spatial experts, discovering space and destruction to reconstruct the true picture of the event.

Separation borders in the city of conflict are another visualisation of crisis. As space-shapers, such structures have power to change the city drastically, and division often remains long after physical walls themselves. Beside dividing space, separations also carry memory of event and all tensions of it. Often designed to provide safety, separation borders make division in community deeper. War separations affect city both on urban and

architectural level: neglected buildings in buffer zones turn into "ghost cities" and remain avoided and unwanted for a long time after the conflict. Cutting off districts and infrastructure, segregation and inner borders - these are effective tools of terror widely used in modern urban wars. However, due to a long-term impact of separations, their deconstruction needs careful attention. The context, reasons and consequences of separation must be deeply analysed and be the main subject in unification processes.

Understanding of destruction and separation in modern armed conflicts is crucial in work with their aftermath and the latest stage of the conflict - memory. Built environment is a main aspect in feeling of belonging to place and self-identification, so when it is affected by war, connection to place may be lost and continuity of history is in danger. Warchitecture describes exactly this interdependence of built heritage and collective memory. There are two aspects in dealing with post-war memory: working with physical damage of war and creating war memorials. Question of legacy, language and message of memorials, as well as acceptable behaviour expected from visitors, is a part of a big discussion. Personal story approach works towards humanizing the tragedy. At the same time, large institutional memorials often tend to generalize and abstractify events to socially acceptable level, creating mourning that does not cause too much pain.

Working with memory when rebuilding cities, destroyed by war, is a challenging task and requires deep understanding of context and multidisciplinary approach. The line between renovation and vanishing memory about events, replacing with new and denying the conflict is very vague and should be carefully discussed within any post-war project. Concept of Radical reconstruction by Lebbeus Woods is giving a possible vector for dealing with post-conflict cities: work on changes that city experienced during the war, as with a context given. Not celebrating violence against architecture, neither denying it but rather accepting and transforming into new spaces.

City, once violently changed, cannot get back to its pre-war condition. Only by analysing, discussing, interpreting and accepting the conflict, it will be able to move on with no unsolved tensions of the past and, hopefully, avoid their repetition.

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